l. XV. No. 59 September 1926

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. The Economic Future of Ireland — *Right Hon. Lord ffrench*
II. The Modern Newspaper ... ... — *Denis Gwynn*
II. Ireland and the International Labour Organisation ... ... — *E. J. Phelan*
IV. Palermo at Easter ... ... — *Virginia M. Crawford*
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SIR HORACE PLUNKETT writing in the final issue of the former "Irish Statesman" which appeared during 1919-1920, expressed himself as follows (18 months before the Treaty) :—

> *"It is our hope, however, that when the coming Irish State enters upon its national and international career, a new series of the 'Irish Statesman' will be forthcoming to fulfil its mission by offering the same counsel and advice in the building up of the new Ireland that it has submitted to those who are striving to lay its foundations."*

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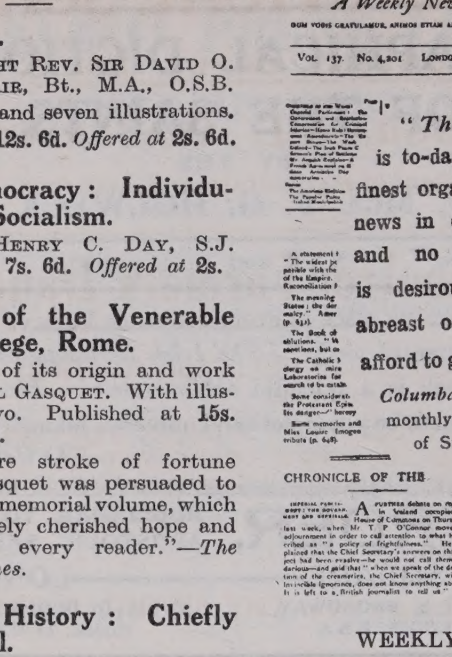

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 26th day of July, 1926.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1926, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£50,583	13	8
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	19,334	9	8
	£69,918	3	4
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0	0
To next Account	21,168	3	4
	£69,918	3	4

The Reserve Fund now stands at £600,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th July, 1926.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1926. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 : amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	431,048	12	6
Reserve Fund	600,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz. :—			
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,242,359	14	10	War Loan and other British Government Stocks ...	5,021,429	13	7
Sundry Agents	40,092	5	10	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	147,322	12	10
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	12,072	7	1		5,599,800	18	11
Profit and Loss Account ... £69,918 3 4				,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	7,650,063	14	10
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0				,, Sundry Agents	7,990	11	9
	59,918	3	4	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	196,587	5	7
	£13,454,442	11	1		£13,454,442	11	1

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1926.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	122,743	10	2	By Balance from last Account ...	19,334	9	8
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	173,327	3	10
Dividend to be paid in August, 1926, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... 31,250 0 0							
Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0							
Balance to next Acct. 21,168 3 4							
	59,918	3	4				
	£192,661	13	6		£192,661	13	6

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have ired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing lt and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on June, 1926, is in excess of the amount at which they d in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills and at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as hibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's rs according to the best of my information and the explana- given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
LIN, 12th July, 1926. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF IRELAND

BY RIGHT HON. LORD FFRENCH

I HAVE headed this article "The Economic Future of Ireland"; but I must not be considered as holding that Economics constitute a watertight compartment of human activities independent of other considerations.

It is a fallacy of modern thought to be very departmental. Its exponents would hold, for instance, that religion, if it should exist at all in any concrete form, should be merely a compartment of a man's life and not its pervading influence. In their avizandum religion would be relegated to the department of fairy tales, that is, if they really mean what they say.

Non-Catholics have sometimes said to me, when discussing various subjects and in answer to remarks of mine: "But what on earth has religion got to do with it?" They mean by that, of course, that, according to their ideas, religion is not concerned with a man's ordinary avocations.

It is not within the scope of this article, however, to contrast in detail, in the light of religion, the effects of different philosophies of life as produced in the economic sphere. Many volumes might be written on the subject. It is sufficient for my purpose to make it clear that my contention is that a Catholic outlook on life, where prevalent, brings with it consequences in general affairs far other than those which result from that which is non-Catholic.

It is a commonplace to assert that Ireland is a totally different country from England in its philosophy and economic structure, yet our rulers do not appear to realise it. Most of their ideas seem to be borrowed from England, or infused with English concepts. Yet anyone who makes

any study of social and economic problems must see that England and Ireland are poles apart. I am not speaking of national temperament, but of conditions produced by historical and other causes, and of the profound divergence which very different philosophies of life have produced, and must produce whether those who hold them are moved by them consciously or sub-consciously.

The main facts are: England is a country where great wealth is concentrated in practically few hands. The vast majority of the people are wage-earners who own nothing, and who have, I think, lost even the sense of property. Concentrated wealth procures more concentrated wealth. It is this concentration of wealth or, to make it clearer, the concentration of the direction of wealth in a few capable hands which has enabled England to exploit great portions of the world, and levy tribute everywhere by the control of the sources of many kinds of raw materials.

The kind of civilisation evolved demands large national expenditure. Apart from the cost of adequately protecting far-flung interests, there is great expense entailed in carrying out the provisions of social legislation for a huge propertyless proletariat. Moreover, the complex nature of the requirements of large urban populations means all kinds of heavy administration charges. In other words, the overhead charges of this great empire, the activities of which radiate to every corner of the world, must necessarily be high, and are further increased by special conditions inherent in its internal social structure.

It is interesting to consider how this state of affairs arose in England. I can here do no more than briefly indicate the historical progress of the concentration of property with some few reflections as to its results and the general effects of what I consider the primary cause.

It is a curious fact that the growth of concentrated Capitalism in England can be traced to pre-Reformation

days. In the 13th century "property in land and industry was well distributed among many or all." There were peasants, independent craftsmen, and co-operative industry; but at the beginning of the 16th century Sir Thomas More could say: "Sheep are eating men." The extirpation of the peasant had begun. The Guilds were not fulfilling their original functions. A handful of men constituting a small Capitalist class were accumulating more and more property in their hands. They were the real fathers of the Reformation in England. The fanatics, who may have sincerely thought they were restoring primitive Christianity, were mere instruments to be utilised for their purpose. After the downfall of the monasteries the plunder passed into their possession, and the great squirearchy of England became established. The Protestant philosophy of life suited them well. A National Church whose doctrines they could define and settle in Parliament, and whose administration they controlled through their nominees, was not likely to give them any trouble. There remained the monarchy, and that they finally reduced to submission by the Act of Settlement.

During the 18th century the lords and squires of England reigned supreme. They and a few great merchants possessed and controlled most of the wealth of the country. The position created by the security thus given to concentrated wealth attracted International Finance. Leading Jewish financial houses made England their headquarters instead of Holland, and gradually attained the eminence they have to-day in the control and direction of finance. Many would hold that England owes to the genius of great Jewish houses her pre-eminence as the financial centre of the world.

The growth of industrialism during the 18th and 19th centuries created a new class of Capitalists. Captains of industry sprang up who exploited the cheap labour of a growing proletariat of "have nots." They showed, no

doubt, ability and powers of organisation; but, in the main, their wealth was derived from underpaid labour which had no choice but to work for a pittance or starve. The reaction against this state of affairs has produced trade unionism, but the trade unions have done no more than protect the workers from being ruthlessly exploited. I am not contending that employers of labour were altogether devoid of humanity and consideration. All I wish to convey is that English law and English philosophy of life saw nothing wrong in a social structure where nearly all the wealth and opportunity were in the hands of the few, and where consequently the vast majority of the population owned nothing at all.

What Mr. Belloc so aptly calls the "isolation of the soul"—which he describes as the prime product of the Reformation—is responsible for the English attitude of mind towards this problem of the concentration of wealth. Philanthropy exists, but it is largely, though not altogether, the philanthropy of men prudent in worldly affairs. It would not be safe nowadays to let large bodies of men starve or get too desperate. It is loudly proclaimed that no one would dream of really crippling the trade unions. All sorts of schemes for the welfare and, soft be it spoken, for the regimentation of the workers are propounded, but they do not appear to rouse the enthusiasm or gratitude of the class for which they are devised. Others talk of some sort of co-partnership, of profit-sharing, as a solution calculated to break down the sullen attitude of the wage-earner, and to induce him to work as if he was working for himself and not for another. There is an uneasy sense of impending disaster hovering in the minds of many, sometimes dispelled, but always coming back. We are told that the great common sense of the English people will prevent revolution. It may be so. It is idle, I think, to prophesy what may happen, but no Catholic who reflects on these matters can look with equanimity on a social

structure, the principles underlying which are so contrary to Catholic philosophy. Whether the anarchy of thought which exists outside the Church will be finally reflected in social life, or whether, as some think, a servile state will ensue, is a speculation which cannot be pursued here. Suffice it to say that a sombre pall of threatening nemesis overshadows the consciousness of reflective men, who are blind, however, to the true cause of their disquietude.

Refuge is sought from this frame of mind in a restless activity either in seeking new sources of gain or in pursuing the latest fad in religious thought—Theosophy, Christian Science, Spiritualism, Anglo-Catholicism, or in the mere worship of sport and amusement. Anything for distraction. Cut off from the true philosophy of life, people flounder about grasping now at this and now at that theory. Never satisfied—no real beliefs, only opinions or moods. What wonder when they are told, with that arrogant assumption of authority which pseudo-scientists know so well how to adopt, that there is no revelation of God, that man is but the evolution of blind force, or that, if there is a supreme Creator, nothing is known about Him: such ethics and moral values as should exist are only to be such as are necessary for the well-being of Society and the State, and have no relation to any transcendental sanction. Frustration of man's natural powers for continuing the race is to be encouraged for economic reasons. It is not a sin crying to Heaven for vengeance, but a matter for man himself to decide in the light of expediency.

My readers may wonder what has all this to do with the economic future of Ireland, but it is necessary to dwell on some of the effects of the anarchy of thought produced by the discarding of Catholic authority to perceive that economic activities must also be affected.

The ancient pagan institution of slavery was gradually dissolved and finally disappeared under the influence of

the Catholic philosophy of life, and yet it was the economic foundation of the Roman Empire. It is, therefore, not unapt to assume that the rejection of Catholicity as a social basis must also have produced and continue to produce far-reaching economic effects. Apart from this it would be well for Catholic Irishmen, who may be tempted to look on England as an economic model, to reflect on some of the above considerations.

Space does not permit me to dwell at any length on many factors which modify and have modified the full force of the economic effects of the spirit introduced at the Reformation. For one thing it takes centuries for a new spirit to reveal itself in its full development and logical sequence of result. The wealthy classes in England are far from being ruthless and cruel by nature. There are many of them kindly and considerate men who would like to remedy the evils which exist in the industrial world. England was Catholic for 1,000 years, and there is still a great deal of traditional Catholic outlook permeating the muddled minds of men who have no dogmatic belief. Up to 40 or 50 years ago English people as a whole believed profoundly in the Bible. Now the majority of them have no religious anchorage at all. This will probably mean an acceleration of the logical results of the Reformation.

Amongst the wage-earning classes there is a considerable school of thought permeated with the doctrines of Karl Marx. That is where the danger lies. The capitalist class, with a keen instinct of the instability of the present position and with a measure of good-will also, would now willingly adjust their relations with the wage-earners on a basis of co-operation; but they are confronted with sullen suspicion, underlying which is the concept of Class War as enunciated by Karl Marx—the idea that a Utopia can be reached only by the destruction of capitalism, either by violent revolution or by the gradual undermining of the system, to be succeeded by the negation

of all individual holding of property, the Socialist or Communist State.

The reverberations of this conflict are felt in Ireland, where they should not be felt if only Irish leaders of thought realised the causes and broke away from the acceptation of an alien philosophy of life, and stimulated and revived what ought to be the informing principle of social relations. In other words Ireland has not lost the Catholic philosophy of life, but has not yet got the practice of it. I do not mean by this that Irish Catholics are not practising Catholics. What I do mean is that a people so long debarred from any control of their own affairs have insensibly absorbed a great deal of the false principles which, in their naked presentation, they have indignantly and persistently rejected. They have held on to the faith with a tenacity which is little short of miraculous, and which is certainly so if their character is as unstable as our critics so often make out. But the circumstances under which they did so left them little tradition of what a free and unfettered Catholic State should connote in the development of its economic and social life. It is true that under the Treaty the Irish Free State is precluded from any corporate recognition of the Catholic Church, and by implication the State is presumed to regard all forms of religious belief or opinion as of equal importance or unimportance.[1]

Nevertheless, the spirit informing the Government cannot be otherwise than Catholic in the long run, unless the Irish people prove untrue to the faith of their fathers—a consummation which I do not believe to be probable. At present and for the moment the Irish people do not appear to me to realise or appreciate what it all means. This sudden advent of independence has

[1] The Irish people had not a free choice in the matter. It is interesting to note that the gentlemen who object so strongly to the oath of fidelity to King George find no difficulty whatever in accepting this stipulation.

The Government of the six northern counties is also debarred from establishing any State religion.

bewildered them. The absence of any immediate material betterment has disillusioned them. They do not yet grasp the fact that the culmination of their national hopes is in itself but a step to the establishment of a civilisation informed by principles which they have never had a chance to put into effect in the general ordering of their affairs. The material bye-products, so to speak, of the general acceptance of Catholic belief are of slow growth, and it may take generations before they stand out clear and recognisable. It was so in Europe after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, when the Church took in hand the reorganisation of society—a task in which the then Irish monks and schools took a not inconsiderable part.

It is a very extraordinary thing that in Ireland to-day such wealth as there is, is far better distributed than in England. When one considers that Ireland was for hundreds of years under the domination and control of a small body of men, with the same aspirations and inspired with the same outlook as the capitalist class in England, it is surprising to find results so different. This difference did not arise as a direct consequence of the fact that the Irish people remained Catholic while the English did not. The main body of the Irish people had no voice in the shaping of their political or economic destiny. What happened may be described as fortuitous or providential according to the point of view of those considering it. Those who know the history of Ireland must admit that for hundreds of years it was the avowed policy of England to exterminate the native Irish. I am not merely considering the ruthless massacres of the Elizabethan and Cromwellian periods, comprehensive though they were. They failed because they were not complete. They were spasmodic for reasons which students of history can easily appreciate. What is less easily grasped is the cause of failure to exclude the Irish from any access to the ownership, or even the mere

tenanting of the land. I am here dealing with admitted facts of history ; and, however unpleasant these facts may be for Irishmen and Englishmen to dwell upon, they cannot be ignored in any historical retrospect.

The grants of land made to English adventurers, after wholesale confiscations, were subject to conditions which, if carried out, would have left the original occupants nothing but the wilder and less accessible parts of the country to inhabit. It is curious to reflect that the same spirit of greed which in England produced the concentration of wealth I have already described and the elimination of the peasant, in Ireland had the effect of preventing the policy of extermination from becoming effective and of ultimately producing a state of affairs which leaves Ireland to-day largely a peasant country—with, in my opinion, an inevitable prospect of becoming almost wholly so.

The new proprietors could not work the land themselves. Schemes to introduce English labour and English tenants proved abortive. They were forced, in spite of the conditions imposed in their grants, to fall back on Irish labour, which they could get for anything that would keep the worker just above starvation point. Later on the land was let out to the Irish on terms which left them in the position of serfs. I need not dwell on the conditions under which the small tenants in Ireland came to occupy their holdings. They bore no comparison to the relations subsisting between the yeomen farmers of England and the lords and squires. It amounted to this—that the new proprietors found it more remunerative and safer to let out their lands in small holdings to a population who, having no other means of subsistence, were prepared to accept almost any conditions of rental and tenure in hopes of even temporarily providing themselves with some means of livelihood, no matter how meagre it might be.

In the eighteenth century the landlords had con-

solidated their position. The wealth of the country, such as it was, was in their hands. Nevertheless, they were not supreme. However they might lord it over the subject race, they were not free to develop industry or commerce. Irish shipping, Irish trade, and Irish industries were jealously suppressed. During the last quarter of the 18th century the spirit of dissatisfaction engendered by these limitations culminated in the demand for legislative independence. England, harassed by exigencies in other directions, did not feel strong enough to resist, and in 1782 Ireland became economically and legislatively independent. This independence only lasted 18 years, but during that period industries revived and were protected, and it is possible to envisage a very different Ireland during the 19th century had it not been for the Act of Union. It is quite conceivable that Ireland might have progressed as an industrial country. We might have had similar conditions to those which exist to-day in England. The peasants could have been driven off the land, for they would have had the alternative of work in the towns. The attractions of town life might even have induced them to leave the land willingly. But it was otherwise ordained. The Union deprived the young industries of protection. They were not strong enough to stand against English competition, and they gradually dwindled away. Moreover, England became the centre of gravity for any accumulation of wealth that existed, and the money of the wealthier classes was increasingly invested out of Ireland. The result was that once again there was nothing but the land. The drain of Capital out of the country synchronised with a rapidly increasing population until the terrible famine of 1848 overwhelmed the country. I need not sketch for my readers the process by which the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland were so completely altered during the last part of the 19th century and the beginning of the present era. It is too recent not to be known

and understood. My contention is that the policy which persistently crippled and finally destroyed Irish industries had the very unforeseen result of making the doom of the Irish landlords inevitable. Fortuitously or providentially, as I said before, Ireland emerges as essentially a country of small peasant proprietors.

We have, therefore, a vast number of small independent landowners, and the trend of legislation is against the concentration of wealth in a few hands. This last statement requires some explanation. Agriculture—I use the term in its widest sense—is the great industry in Ireland, but there is no security for anyone holding over 100 acres of land or even less. Under the provisions of the Land Act, the Government can swoop down on the larger farmers any time and take the land from them at a valuation fixed by a Government valuer.

The larger farmer is now in some respects in the same position as the old tenant at will. He is not, unless he is a fool, going to finance schemes for the far-ahead development of his land and stock. He is not going to put capital into expensive agricultural machinery. Ministerial assurances that, if he is a bona fide farmer using his land properly, he will not be interfered with hardly constitute a security that a bank would consider good in view of the existing Land Act. The holders of considerable farms will simply drift on waiting for the evil day. They are not, therefore, going to increase and concentrate wealth. Even if they were in a position to do so, they could not challenge any comparision with the English capitalist class.

I am not here concerned with whether this trend of affairs is a good thing or not. I am convinced that the final splitting up of the land is inevitable, and therefore the argument of advantage or disadvantage does not arise. One thing that could stop it would be the development of large industries which would attract the landless to the town and relieve the land hunger in that way.

It is not innate love of the land and the life on it that creates the urge in the peasant's breast. It is the necessity of getting land in his own country or getting out. Those who go out do not go on the land in the countries to which they emigrate. I do not see any chance of large industries being developed in Ireland, and again I am not concerned with the point of whether it would be a good thing if they were. I do not believe that they will be created, or that they can be created to any such extent as to affect the land position. It is too late for Ireland to compete seriously with highly industrialised countries, and the paucity of home consumption renders protective tariffs of little value in stimulating new ventures. At best, they can but keep alive existing industries which are in a precarious condition.

The consequence of all this is that there will be less and less concentration of wealth in large entities in the Free State. The old landlord class who still have capital will gradually drift away with or without the capital they have inherited. If some remain for a time their children will not. The large farmers when bought out will also, many of them, leave the country with such capital as they may get for their expropriated lands. I do not envisage that all this will take place immediately, but it is, I think, inevitable. I therefore conclude that the Free State of the future will consist of small peasant proprietors and that any concentrated wealth in the country will be in the hands of merchants and traders who may acquire it by selling to the peasant such goods as he may need. Even such a class may not be as considerable as one might imagine on first thought, because the peasant may provide for himself through co-operative societies. I do not see how any observant person can deny that the trend of affairs in Ireland is towards the ultimate position I have described. The donkey cart and not the motor car will be the symbol of the general standard of living. This is probably

an exaggeration, but I use the expression to emphasise what I mean.

A country developing on the lines on which I contend the Free State is developing does not require an expensive Government and cannot afford it. The great drain of capital which must go out of the country as a result of the expropriation of the land will not be re-created in less than two generations.

Very widely distributed wealth cannot be taxed to the extent that concentrated capital will submit to. Its immobility and lack of intelligent and informed individual direction prevents it from acquiring the facility and speed of action which are so characteristic of the procedure of English money captains and enables them to compensate themselves amply for heavy taxation. Even when the capital drained out of Ireland is re-created, such surplus as the peasant may hoard will, if used at all, be entrusted to banks, which will lend it to the foreigner at an interest a few points above the rate they will allow the peasant depositors.

A peasant civilisation does not want, cannot afford, and will not have an expensive administration if it can help it, and the sooner the powers-that-be in Ireland realise that the lines of development laid down for the country necessitate, at least ultimately, a very simple Government with a very small bureaucracy, the better for themselves and all concerned. The Executive should consider that Ministries other than those of Education and Agriculture need only be very slender. There is, however, room for the Ministry of Industries and Commerce. I am not contending that there will not be industries in Ireland, but that large concentrated industries run on Capitalistic or Socialist lines are unlikely to thrive in Ireland. Very little new legislation would be required after such as should be put through to abrogate complicated Acts, the administration of which employs numbers of useless officials.

It should become clear that a luxurious civilisation supported by vast numbers of wage-earners owning nothing and living from hand to mouth, is one that cannot be emulated in Ireland. Ireland has not got the accumulations derived by years of exploitation of, and tribute from, the ends of the earth. She has got the land and the people on it with their stock and implements. It remains to be seen what accumulation of capital she will attain to with these resources. I am certain of one thing: that she will not attain to any accumulation if the administration continues to cost £8 per head of the population, man, woman, and child. I am still more certain that when the country has got rid of landowners other than small proprietors, and has to rely on the peasant to pay £8 per head, there will be an appalling deficit in the Budget, and possibly in the ranks of our "statesmen," should they attempt to enforce its provisions.

I have spoken already of the drain of Capital out of the country. I do not mean by this, Capital invested abroad by residents in Ireland who spend the income thus derived in Ireland itself. I had in mind the amounts paid or to be paid for expropriated lands when the owners take such capital out of the country and themselves with it. There is, further, the money which goes out of the country in pensions to retired officials who elect to live out of Ireland. In any retrospect of Irish economic history there is no more impressive and salient fact than this constant exodus of Capital. There must, of course, have been some compensatory influx, but that it did not counterbalance the efflux is demonstrated by the recurring famines of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the ominous dwindling of population.

I have no doubt that amongst my readers there will be some who think that I am hinting at a somewhat gloomy future. I do not agree. Rightly or wrongly, I do not regard as permanent the apathy and disillusion-

ment which recent events, coming as a sudden climax to a history like that of Ireland, have undoubtedly produced. There are many critics in Ireland who maintain that the peasants in bulk are a lazy class incapable of getting from their holdings all that might be got. That nothing but the immediate spur of want will induce them to work as they might. Whether this is now so to the degree that some would hold I do not propose to argue. Whatever truth there is in the statements may easily be accounted for by some reflection on past economic and social conditions. I am one of those who believe that the awakening of a spirit of hope will replace an inherited spirit of despair in the efficacy of effort. I believe that many characteristics of Irish people supposed to be an inherent part of their nature will be found in time to be no true part of their real character. I do not believe that a people who have so persistently and courageously held to their faith under some of the most appalling conditions in history will fail to establish a civilisation enlivened and inspired by that true philosophy of life which must eventually bring in its train the blessings of peace and well-distributed prosperity.

In a second article I hope to sketch the possibilities of the future economic development of Ireland. In doing so one can do no more than envisage results which should flow from the acceptance of certain principles. If the civic life and social relations of the main body of the Irish people are based on the conceptions set forth in the great encyclicals of Leo XIII certain results may be looked for. If other principles prevail, the consequences may be even more disastrous in Ireland than in other countries.

FFRENCH.

THE MODERN NEWSPAPER

BY DENIS GWYNN.

NOT the least discouragement that comes with the declaration of a general strike is the discovery that what one imagines to be one's own special services to the community are not only abruptly discontinued, but appear to be quite definitely counted among those which cannot be considered as essential even in the widest sense. For a whole fortnight, during the recent general strike, many thousands of journalists in Great Britain had to endure this humiliating, if salutary, experience. And yet the complete cessation of the popular press through the general strike has certainly not discredited the press in the eyes of the public. On the contrary, the popularity of the press as a whole has never been more decisively proved. Any newspaper of any kind which succeeded in making some sort of appearance, no matter how trivial, was eagerly and immediately welcomed. The revival of the press was acknowledged from the first day of the strike as one of the necessities of the community's life; and this general demand for the restoration of newspapers was all the more impressive because the Government had at its disposal, through its control of the Broadcasting Company's services, a complete machinery for disseminating news immediately to all parts of the country.

On the face of it, the wireless broadcasting ought to have been amply sufficient to meet the general demand for news. Bulletins compiled at all the main centres from authoritative reports were broadcasted five times every day. In many places privately-owned loud speakers were placed in positions where they could be heard by crowds listening outside. Shops and public institutions responded quickly to the Government's request that the broadcasted

news bulletins should be taken down and displayed in conspicuous places throughout the day. Anybody interested in news could thus obtain information more quickly and more easily than at ordinary times. The daily and evening newspapers have never had to face such competition before, and at a time when they were completely and utterly crippled. At best, if they could produce news sheets at all, they contained only a few typewritten messages; and the paralysis of transport made it impossible to deliver these pathetic attempts at publication within any reasonable time. And when it came to any really important news, the superiority of the wireless service might have driven any newspaper manager to despair. The main news bulletin was read out daily from the London broadcasting station at one o'clock. On the last day of the general strike the announcer had begun to read out the daily summary of conditions throughout the country when he suddenly paused and asked his listeners to stand by while a telephone message from Downing Street was being taken down. A minute later he had read out the brief statement, signed by the trade union leaders, calling off the strike. The news was received simultaneously everywhere: alike in remote country districts and in the great cities, and had spread through the streets of every town or village long before any newspaper office could even have had it printed, quite apart from the problem of distributing the papers.

No more severe test of the respective advantages of newspapers or of wireless for the distribution of news could well be imagined. Even under the most favourable circumstances the newspapers could not conceivably have competed with such a news service. As it was, they could do no more than print a few paragraphs every day. They could not even publish as much as the wireless announcer read out. And yet, paradoxically, all the newspapers sold out as fast as they were printed. In small towns and suburbs little hand-printing presses, run

by enterprising stationers or newsagents, published the official broadcasted bulletins many hours after they had been read out. And these little sheets of stale news were bought everywhere as quickly as they appeared on the streets. The public demand for printed matter seemed insatiable. If the strike proved incontestably the incomparable superiority of broadcasting over newsprint as a means of distributing the news, it showed no less that the ordinary man prefers to read his news at leisure, even if he receives it later, rather than listen for it on the wireless. I myself heard the news of the strike's termination in a little village inn which possessed a wireless installation with three loud speakers. At no time through the previous days of the strike had there been more than half a dozen people collected to hear the news. And on this critical day, when everyone who had watched events closely knew that peace negotiations were approaching their climax, there was not a soul waiting to listen. I had to find the landlord of the inn myself and tell him after the news had been read out.

For a long time the newspapers have feared the competition of the wireless news service. And now, having had to undergo this fantastically severe test of competition, at a time when they themselves were paralysed and when the whole broadcasting service was being used by the Government primarily as a means of conveying news, they can congratulate themselves that they have much less to fear in fact than they had imagined. If people will not take the trouble to listen-in for news during a general strike, when so many are out of work and glad of any means of distraction to occupy their time, they certainly are not likely to prefer the wireless to newspapers under normal conditions. And if people will buy flimsy typewritten sheets of stale news—even news three days old and sold at double the usual price of their newspapers —there can be little fear that the demand for newspapers will disappear.

The truth is, of course, that the modern newspaper has long ceased to be primarily a vehicle for conveying news. A certain section of the public does still buy newspapers simply to read some special item of news (usually the result of a race or of a cricket or football match), and takes no further interest in what they contain. Some newspapers owe a considerable proportion of their present colossal circulations to this type of reader. But the cost of distributing at top speed throughout the country newspapers containing such news is often more expensive than the resulting revenue from increased sales; and the advertisers are less inclined now than they were a few years ago to be impressed by the net sale circulation figures which are built up in this way. The evening newspapers especially make ridiculous efforts to impress readers outside of London with their alacrity in publishing the latest news. Thus, one London evening newspaper calls its first early edition the "third" edition. One of its rivals, not to be outdone, labels its own first early edition the "fourth" edition. In London everybody knows that no previous editions exist, but the pretence is kept up in the hope of impressing provincial readers when they find a "third" or "fourth" edition delivered to them by midday at long distances from London.

It is to be hoped that wireless developments will destroy this sort of newspaper circulation. Already the evening papers have to resort to ingenious methods of supplementing the sporting news which can be included before the newspapers have to be carried out of the printing works on motor lorries. The circulation manager arranges with the newsagents who sell his paper in the outlying districts that they will receive telephone messages giving the result of later races or matches, and these are then pencilled into the stop press column of the papers when they arrive. It would be no loss to journalism and a great elimination of waste, if the wireless service were to supersede these absurdly extravagant methods of

distributing small items of news. The people who buy papers for such news generally read nothing else in the paper, and the whole effort of a newspaper organisation in producing sixteen pages of print and conveying them by lorry over long distances, so as to reach as wide a public as its rivals, is simply wasted. From the advertiser's point of view such additional circulation is worth nothing at all, and he would spend his money to greater advantage in advertising in a paper that is really read, which prints smaller or fewer editions and can charge correspondingly less for its advertising space.

These two questions of advertisement rates and of circulation have under modern conditions become the deciding factors in any newspaper enterprise, and it is useless to deplore insistence upon them. Probably the most far-reaching development of modern journalism is the definite acceptance of advertisements as an integral part of any modern newspaper; and there is no inherent reason for regarding such a development with dislike, or even with distrust. Journalism has gone through a series of hectic developments in the past thirty years, and early innovations which at first were very profitable are no longer of the same importance. Perhaps the most remarkable change of all concerns the popular attitude nowadays towards "news." The pioneers of the modern newspaper relied mainly upon the development of their news service. Delane made the fortune of *The Times* largely by securing a more constant supply of inside information than any other newspaper. Fleet Street abounds in legends of his personal "scoops," and those of the great special correspondents at home and abroad. It was largely by exploiting a different type of news that the first Lord Burnham made the success of the *Daily Telegraph*. And Lord Northcliffe brought his marvellous energy and resourcefulness to bear upon the collection of news at a still faster rate, and especially upon its presentation in a more popular form.

But the day of news "scoops" is now largely past. The modern newspaper has become so generally recognised as one of the national institutions of the country, that government departments and public companies and societies (which are the chief sources of all really important news) now make a practice of communicating all information to the press as a whole, and even employ journalists to take charge of their relations with the press. In the European war "scoops" were practically out of the question. The war correspondents were not only censored but shepherded under the control of a press officer (himself a very eminent journalist) who supplied them all alike with whatever news was available from day to day or hour to hour. Even in the lobby of the House of Commons, where a political correspondent's capacities are tried most highly, the collection of news is nowadays largely a matter of routine; and such inside information as does appear a few hours ahead of the whole press is collected by a small group of the most alert and experienced lobby correspondents who work in collaboration and pool their secret information.

The greatest innovations made by Lord Northcliffe, who revolutionised all the conditions of newspaper production, consisted partly in the introduction of new machinery capable of printing enormous editions at high speed, and partly in the discovery that the vast public whom he was thus enabled to reach are really less interested in news than in their own everyday affairs. Conditions in the newspaper world have changed greatly even since Lord Northcliffe's death, and the pursuit of exclusive news as a main recommendation to the public has fallen more and more into the background. An entirely alert and comprehensive news service is still of primary importance to any newspaper which aims at a national circulation, but the standard of news editing is now so high that there is very little to choose between one newspaper and another in this respect. Each paper has rather to select

some particular section of the public as its own special field, whether it be the business and commercial world, the working class, or the upper or lower middle classes.

No modern newspaper can hope to hold its own against the existing competition in Great Britain unless it can attain a daily net sale of somewhere around half a million copies. The overhead charges involved in the production of a newspaper on such a scale are enormous. Salaries and payments to expert writers and special correspondents are incomparably higher than they were even before the war, but their total cost is only a fraction of the expenditure involved in extensive premises, huge printing machines, batteries of costly linotype machines, motor lorries, a large printing staff and other personnel, besides the daily bill for paper, and the enormous daily cost of cables and telegrams. To cover this vast outlay of capital and working expenses, the revenue from sales alone would be hopelessly inadequate ; and under present conditions a newspaper's revenue must be at least as large from advertisements as from sales. It has been of very great assistance to the development of modern journalism that the public has come to regard advertisements more and more as being an integral part of the daily news. The small advertisements of situations vacant or required have for many years been one of the chief assets of the *Daily Telegraph*, ensuring not only a large revenue but a constant number of regular readers who regard this as one of the most important and useful features of the paper. The *Daily Express*, on the other hand, has found a still more lucrative source of revenue in the announcements of the great drapery stores ; and the whole policy of the *Daily Express* (which is the most significant phenomenon in Fleet Street during the past few years) has been directed to attracting the public who are chiefly interested in such advertisements. Lord Beaverbrook, who has brought an extremely alert mind and shrewd judgment to the commercial exploitation of

the *Daily Express*, admits frankly in his manifestoes about his own journalistic methods that he regards the advertisements of the great drapery stores as one of the principal news features of his papers. And no experienced journalist nowadays would question their value as news.

The *Daily Express* has done more to affect the policy of other newspapers in England than any other newspaper since Lord Northcliffe's death, and it is significant that the two most successful newspaper "scoops" of the past year have been, not discoveries of sensational news, but two series of special articles contributed to the *Daily Express* which have attracted an immense amount of attention to the paper. One was an absurd series of articles by popular novelists expressing their attitude towards religion, and the other a series of articles on careers for boys and girls contributed by leading members of every industry and profession. The success of developments of this kind in the modern newspaper is symptomatic, in showing that a newspaper counts nowadays on appealing to new readers rather by providing them with useful suggestions about their private affairs, or stimulating their interest in questions of general interest, than in the provision of sensational news. Other London newspapers have scored big successes by somewhat similar features. When the *Westminster Gazette* ceased to be an evening publication, and was reconstructed as a popular daily paper under new management, the problem of building up a great circulation was solved by adopting a method which had already met with great success in various provincial papers. It offered a more generous free insurance policy to its readers than was offered by any other daily paper; and by advertising this widely it quickly attracted an enormous number of new readers. It is nowadays a generally accepted maxim of modern journalism that newspaper readers care very little for the political complexion of the paper, provided it supplies them with what they desire as well as any of its rivals. The

Liberal daily papers have, with the decline of Liberalism as a political force, relied more and more on such features to obtain a new following; and the *Daily News* recently made a very big success with such a scheme, by initiating a fund to provide all the London hospitals with earphones, so that each patient could listen to the wireless programmes without disturbing his neighbours.

To attract the interest and win the sympathy of new readers, such means are being more and more extensively employed, with the result that the newspapers are gradually undertaking to supply many public or private services. Their own interest urges them to do so, but the result is none the less important. The public, on its side, is at the same time more and more coming to regard newspapers as a source of information on matters of private concern or as institutions for the benefit of the public, rather than as vehicles for supplying news. A well-edited fashion page, or a city page conducted on popular lines, is probably a greater asset to any newspaper nowadays than the services of the best informed political correspondent. And with the development of this side of journalism, many of the former features of a daily newspaper are being steadily squeezed out of existence. To obtain a circulation of half a million copies a day it is much more profitable to offer free legal advice or a constant supply of good practical hints about Health in the Home, or notes on Gardening in the Suburbs, than to cater for the relatively small public that is even vaguely interested in literature or in art. This tendency has had a specially devastating effect upon the pages formerly devoted to book reviews. Editors have long found it impossible, in face of the prodigious modern output of books, to notice more than a fraction of those which are sent in for review. While their own pages are becoming crowded with other features which are more popularly demanded, there has been an immense increase in the amount of space demanded by the publishers for their

advertisements of new books. The result is startlingly apparent in a paper like the *Sunday Times*, which was formerly one of the most influential papers for book reviews. Though it still devotes three pages to new books, two-thirds of this space is filled with publishers' announcements, the remainder being divided between chatty notes about books and authors, a few signed articles on literary subjects, and at most a few columns of book notices in all.

Book reviewing in the penny daily papers has practically disappeared altogether, there being no space left for book reviews among so many other features upon which the circulation manager insists. A new book has very little chance of being noticed in the penny daily papers at all unless it can be made the subject of a short topical article. And this tendency is the more regrettable because the old fashioned literary reviews are fast losing their public altogether. They, like the daily papers, have to rely largely upon advertisements to supplement their revenue from sales, and the big advertisers naturally prefer to place their expenditure with the national newspapers, rather than with small weekly papers which reach a very limited public. Costs of printing have increased so heavily since the war that the old type of literary weekly finds it increasingly difficult to cover expenses, and at the same time the demand for the old literary reviews has been steadily dwindling. The Sunday papers, especially in their enlarged form, provide all the expert comment and the serious forms of journalism that were formerly confined to the weekly reviews.

A growing demand exists, however, for a somewhat different type of weekly review, appealing to special sections of the public. The gradual elimination of news from the newspapers has driven many people to buying a weekly paper to supply them with the special sort of news that interests them particularly. The *Church Times* for instance, and the *British Weekly*, among religious

publications, have built up great circulations which command large revenues from more specialised advertisers. And many other papers which appeal to special sections of the public are no less successful, such as for instance the *Farmer's Gazette* or the *Autocar*, the *Woman's Weekly* or the *Radio Times*. All such papers have improved very remarkably in their production and in their contents in recent years, and it would seem that the future development of journalism in England will see the growth of many such various weekly journals, which provide special news for people of special interests, while the daily newspapers are likely to contain less and less general news and more and more features designed to attract wider publics.

Any newspaper, with the modern improvements in mechanical production and in distribution, can nowadays reach a vastly larger public than before. Journalism has never offered such wide scope to anyone who is willing to adapt his gift of writing to the requirements of a new and difficult technique. In every branch of journalism the standard of writing has improved enormously. One good effect of the curtailment of news reports has been to eliminate the old bombastic style of journalism. Larger circulations have also brought about a great improvement in the presentation of news. Even in the collection of news of the most trivial kind accuracy is now rigidly insisted upon. People who talk loosely about the unreliability of what appears in the newspapers can know nothing of the agony of precision which any junior reporter has to endure for fear that the least inaccuracy may lose him his job. In these days of vast circulations no error of fact is ever likely to pass without a protest reaching the editor from some quarter; and every reporter knows that he stakes his reputation and also his job on every line that he writes. Irresponsible statements and exaggerations are now much less frequent in any newspaper with a reputation to lose, than they are for

instance even in the law courts. The only general charge of inaccuracy that can be sustained against any important newspaper is usually the much more serious complaint of deliberately suppressing facts or documents on the pretext that there is not room to publish everything.

Most journalists nowadays who attain positions of responsibility on any great newspaper have usually served their apprenticeship from the lowest grades. The success of a newspaper has become so complicated a business that experience can only be gained by practical work. To the scholarly temperament the restrictions imposed upon the length of serious articles will always appear intolerable. But the opportunity of reaching a vastly wider audience must appeal to anyone who considers the enormous educational possibilities of the daily press. Not even broadcasting can be compared with it as a means of sustained and organised propaganda for definite ideas or movements. Whoever can learn to adapt his writing to the restricted forms required by newspaper work has opportunities for exerting a wider influence than most politicians or teachers. In America, and also to a large extent in England, much has been done to train journalists by organised courses of instruction. The late Joseph Pullitzer devoted much of the great fortune he made by the *New York World*, to creating schools of journalism in the American universities. A recent American writer, Mr. Norman J. Radder, describes, in a book full of suggestive information,[1] the various ways in which American newspapers have organised movements for social reform. Even in England the press already has a record of constant and growing achievement in this direction, not only by the support of political agitations in favour of such reforms as national insurance or labour exchanges, but by direct campaigns undertaken by the newspapers themselves to expose abuses or to insist upon reforms. Town-planning, for instance, owes much of its

[1] *Newspapers in Community Service.* (McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 15*s*.)

success, both in England and still more in America, to the propaganda carried on by certain newspapers.

In Ireland, where under the new régime fresh ideas have a freer field than in most countries, the press has immense opportunities for providing suggestions to the various ministries in their efforts at reconstruction. English cities like Birmingham, Liverpool or Manchester, owe a great deal of their recent progress in municipal organisation and reform to the campaigns which developed out of articles first published in the daily press. In Ireland, where the government departments and the local authorities under the new conditions have a free field for applying any ideas that commend themselves for reconstruction—comparatively unhampered by the opposition of vested interests and the complicated reactions of public opinion such as present obstacles to all social reform in England—the capacity of the national newspapers for usefulness is correspondingly greater. Costs of production are much lower than in England owing to the absence of the competition which obliges any English newspaper to maintain its own staff of salaried special correspondents. There is no need for the immense expenditure of capital upon distribution of newspapers at top speed for fear of arriving later than some other paper with larger resources. The conditions of journalistic success in Ireland are much less onerous and less complicated, while the possibilities of effective influence upon the public authorities are much greater, than in the more highly organised industrial countries. The restrictions upon writing required by newspaper conditions are correspondingly less exacting, and in few countries does journalism offer such immediate and generous opportunities for practical usefulness to those who have ideas that might be of service to the community.

DENIS GWYNN.

IRELAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

BY E. J. PHELAN, M.SC.

Part II[1]

THE account which has already been given of the active, and often distinguished part played by the Irish Delegates in the various sessions of the International Labour Conference represents only one aspect of Ireland's participation in the International Labour Organisation. The work of the Delegates and the decisions of the Conference would be meaningless did they not imply certain national action and responsibilities. These national responsibilities are defined in the constitution of the Organisation, which lays down the rights and obligations of the Member States. No account of Ireland and the International Labour Organisation would be complete which did not deal with the way in which her rights have been exercised and her obligations fulfilled. In the case of older States an adaptation of well-established procedure was often required in view of certain novelties in the constitution of the Organisation. The interest of such changes was international, in the sense that what was sought was a simpler and more efficient method for the transaction of certain international affairs. But in the case of the Free State the exercise of these rights and the fulfilment of these obligations marked practically the beginning of her formal international activities, and they have therefore a special individual interest.

It is true that the Free State had also become a Member of the League of Nations, and it might have been expected that the development of her international position would rather have taken place in her relations with

[1] For Part I see March issue.

that Body than with the International Labour Organisation. Membership of the League undoubtedly meant for the Free State an international recognition of the status secured by the Treaty with Great Britain. But the attributes of independence, even though recognised, require to be exercised. The reason why the occasion for their exercise arose in the framework of the International Labour Organisation and not in the framework of the League may be briefly explained. It is to be found in the difference in origin and aims of the two organisations.

The League was the result of a reaction against war. It was designed when the horror of war was fresh in men's minds. The aim of its authors was to create something which would have avoided the outbreak of the world war. It was in fact an effort to avert a catastrophe rather than to create a millennium. Its essential object was to underpin the foundations of civilisation rather than to add new and more spacious wings to its structure. It aimed therefore not at the realisation of any specific or limited reform but at a change of spirit; it bound Members to a "rule of conduct," to the observance of "open, just and honourable relations," to the "scrupulous respect of all treaty obligations," and to the avoidance of "resort to war." But save as regards this last obligation, it contained no detailed prescriptions. It left the League to develop "international co-operation" in all the innumerable subsidiary fields according to the methods which had been evolved by experience. Conventions and treaties have grown out of the meetings of the Assembly and the Commissions of the Council, but no procedure for their negotiation is provided in the Covenant. In many respects they have aided the League's essential object. When a man labours to set his house in order he is less likely to neglect the stability of its foundations. And in the measure in which the League succeeds in improving the economic and moral

aspects of our civilisation it succeeds in making peace a more precious thing and therefore something to be more jealously safeguarded. But these activities of the League were secondary. That is why they were not regulated in detail, and why no specific obligations were contained in the Convenant with regard to the action of Members concerning them.

It was far otherwise with the International Labour Organisation. The authors of its constitution took the League for granted. They assumed that civilisation would not commit sucide, and they concerned themselves with its improvement. Their immediate object was to secure the achievement of definite material reforms. They realised, for reasons that have already been discussed, that in the modern world the problem of labour conditions could only be solved, at all events in certain of its aspects, by international action, that is by a succession of international treaties which would require to be adapted to changing industrial circumstances. Just as the authors of the League looked back to prewar experience, they looked to the first attempts at international labour legislation, to the Conferences at Berne and their meagre results. They were impressed by the fact that Foreign Offices and the depositories of diplomatic tradition were likely to be eternally concerned with political settlements, and, therefore, were hardly likely to give labour questions that urgent attention which they required. They were averse to international technical settlements on labour and industrial problems of extreme delicacy having to pass through a kind of diplomatic House of Lords ignorant of the issues involved and liable to hesitate and delay out of a caution born of unfamiliarity. So in designing the International Labour Organisation they attempted to lay down definite obligations of procedure which would secure for Labour Conventions expeditious and public treatment They could not of course make it an obligation on a Member

State to accept a given Convention. But they did secure that Labour Conventions should not remain at the mercy of some pretext of dilatory procedure or be shelved on the ground of some constitutional inconvenience, and that within a definite period a decision must be taken on their acceptance or rejection.

Hence it was that the Free State's membership of the International Labour Organisation almost immediately gave rise to a series of problems of a constitutional nature, which may now be briefly indicated.

As has been pointed out, it is the main work of the Conference to vote draft Conventions which then go to the various Member States for a decision as to whether or not ratification will follow. In order to take this decision the Members must be in possession of an official text, and here exists one of the novelties in the procedure of the International Labour Organisation.

According to the older diplomatic procedure each State would have a copy of the text arrived at signed by all the plenipotentiaries who had agreed to the results of the negotiation. Under modern conditions of rapid and easy communication representatives of Governments who negotiate a treaty have ceased to be plenipotentiaries in anything but name, and the effect of their signatures is in reality no more than a guarantee of the authenticity of the text which is to be submitted for the sovereign national decision of ratification.[1]

For this and other reasons the cumbersome formality of signature was done away with in the procedure of the International Labour Organisation, and a much simpler procedure was instituted. When the Conference has formally adopted a draft Convention, a single copy is authenticated by the signatures of the President and

[1] Nobody would nowadays maintain, for example, that even the signature of President Wilson, whose status was much greater than that of any other plenipotentiary at Paris, since unlike his colleagues he was "acting in his own name and by his own authority," bound the United States to accept in any degree the Treaty of Versailles.

of the Secretary-General of the Conference and deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General of the League communicates to each Member a certified copy of this authenticated text, and the member is thus seised of the Draft Convention and is then obliged to proceed to the consideration of its ratification in accordance with Article 405.

In the case of the Free State this apparently simple formality gave rise to an unforeseen difficulty. Following its usual practice on the admission of a new Member, the International Labour Office requested the Secretary-General of the League to forward to the Free State certified copies of the Draft Conventions adopted by the earlier Sessions of the Conference. Certain of these Conventions had, however, been ratified by the British Government by means of an instrument of ratification "in respect of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" previous to the entry of the Free State into the League and the Labour Organisation. The Secretariat of the League had, in consequence, some doubts as to whether it was necessary to communicate certified copies of these particular Conventions to the Free State, since the Free State appeared to be already bound by them and no action with regard to their consideration seemed therefore to be required.

The point involved was obviously one of very great importance. Were treaties entered into by the British Government, previous to the Treaty between Ireland and Great Britain or previous to Ireland's admission to the League, binding on the Free State? It was not, however, the function of the international institutions at Geneva to express any opinion on such a constitutional question. They had only to consider the position of the Free State as a Member of the International Labour Organisation. The International Labour Office was apprehensive that difficulties might arise as regards the operation of certain provisions in the constitution

of the Organisation and accordingly pointed out that, whatever might be the constitutional position as between Great Britain and the Irish Free State in connection with such Conventions, it appeared desirable that the Free State should be in possession of duly certified copies, so that, if constitutionally it should be held that obligations had been assumed, no ambiguity as to what those obligations were could arise. These observations of the International Labour Office coincided with a request from the Free State for the communication of certified copies, and the communication of all the Conventions was accordingly made.[1]

The Free State having received copies of the Labour Conventions, it had next to decide what attitude it would take on them.

The Government was anxious to begin its effective collaboration with the Organisation as soon as possible. It therefore chose two of the Conventions which had not been the subject of a previous British ratification and with which the legislation in force in the Free State conformed, and in fulfilment of its obligation under Article 405 it submitted the question of their ratification to the Dáil.

The two Conventions in question concerned the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers and workmen's compensation in agriculture, and the Dáil was asked in the form of a resolution "to recommend the Executive Council to ratify (them) in respect of Saorstát Eireann." It is interesting to note that the resolution, which was adopted by the Dáil and subsequently by the Senate, was warmly supported in the former body both by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hewat, who had been respectively the Workers' and Employers' Delegates at Geneva, and who thus gave the Dáil an excellent example of that collaboration between employers

[1] See Final Record of the Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, p. 660.

and workers which the International Labour Conference has so frequently succeeded in securing.

The Dáil and the Senate having pronounced in favour of the ratification of these two Conventions, it now became the duty of the Government, again under Article 405, to communicate their ratification to the Secretary-General of the League. As this was the first occasion on which the Free State had decided to ratify a general international treaty, the procedure to be followed was a matter of considerable importance and was of some delicacy. The Treaty with Great Britain had contained no specific provisions concerning the conduct of foreign affairs or the procedure to be followed as regards entering into treaties with foreign States. These attributes of independent statehood were only to be found by implication in Article 1 of the Treaty giving Ireland "the same constitutional status . . . . as the Dominion of Canada . . . . " and in Article 1 of the Constitution declaring the Irish Free State to be "a co-equal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." No doubt existed as to the right of the Free State to decide as to whether or not she would enter into a given international engagement. But some difficulty might have been anticipated as to the procedure to be followed. Canada had negotiated and ratified treaties. But the instrument of ratification had been an instrument signed by the King, and it remained a point of some constitutional obscurity as to whether the King in affixing his signature acted on the direct advice of the Canadian Ministers or on the advice of his Ministers in London. The Free State Government no doubt felt that there were inconveniences in following this ambiguous procedure, particularly as regards a Convention of the League of Nations. The Free State had entered the League as a Member equal with all other Members, and that equality might have seemed questionable if her adhesion to League Conven-

tions appeared to require a sort of preliminary confirmation by another Member. Fortunately a precedent existed. South Africa had ratified a Labour Convention by means of an Order of Council, and this possibly suggested the solution to the Free State. The Executive Council drew up an Order which, after reciting the circumstances in which the Convention had been adopted by the International Labour Conference and the obligations of the Free State as a Member of the International Labour Organisation, continued :—

> And whereas the Oireachtas has by resolution recommended the Executive Council to ratify the said Convention in respect of the Irish Free State ;
>
> Now therefore the Executive Council is pleased to order and it is hereby ordered that the said Draft Convention be confirmed and approved accordingly, and that the formal communication thereof be made to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

A similar Order dealt with the second Convention, and both were formally communicated to the Secretary-General of the League, by whom the two ratifications of the Free State were duly registered. Thus the solemn formalities of ratification were accomplished in Dublin without even the formal intervention of London, and the principle of the complete independence of the Free State in her League relations was definitely manifested.[1]

In fact the ratifications of the first two Labour Conventions may be taken as marking the adoption by the Free State of a clearly defined policy in League affairs, and they have therefore an historical interest.[2]

A somewhat different problem was presented by the remaining Conventions. It was important that a decision should be taken on them, since the comparatively very

[1] This procedure of course by no means excludes consultation between members of the Commonwealth on League Conventions of common interest. It is interesting to note that a similar procedure has since been followed by Canada and Australia.

[2] The same policy was evident in the registration of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, to which (it will be remembered) Great Britain made a formal objection. The amendment to the Treaty concerning Articles 5 and 12 has, however, since been registered.

high level of social legislation in the Free State was hardly represented by only two ratifications, and, where the legislation of the Free State came up to the standard laid down by the other Conventions, it was desirable that ratification should secure for her due international credit.

These Conventions were therefore submitted to careful examination by the Department of Industry and Commerce with a view to an exact estimate of the obligations involved, while the Department of External Affairs was considering the constitutional problem referred to above concerning the effect of the British ratifications previous to Ireland's entry into the League.

Finally a resolution was introduced into the Dáil which "approved the ratification"[1] of six further Conventions, namely those concerning the minimum age for the admission of children to industrial employment, the employment of women during the night, the night work of young persons, the minimum age for employment at sea, and the minimum age for employment in agriculture.

Four of these Conventions were Conventions which had previously been ratified by the British Government, and which had given rise to the difficulty referred to above as regards their communication to the Free State.

If any doubt, however, still existed as to the situation of the Free State in regard to these Conventions it was soon resolved. The Government apparently came to the conclusion that the British ratifications could not be held to have invalidated the right of the Free State to decide for herself by what international obligations she would be bound, for, some time after the above resolution had been approved by the Dáil and the Senate, the formal ratifications of the six Conventions were communicated to

[1] This wording differed slightly from that previously employed, but there would appear to be no special signifiance in the change as the new wording applied *both* to the four conventions previously ratified by Great Britain *and* to the other two which had not been so ratified.

the Secretary-General of the League by instruments precisely similar to those previously employed and were duly registered by the Secretariat. Here again an important principle concerning the international obligations of the Free State had been evolved.

It is not, however, the purpose of this article to discuss these constitutional questions as such but to survey the repercussions in the Free State of her membership of the International Labour Organisation, and our survey is not yet complete. In addition to the technical examination of Conventions by the interested Departments, which is necessary before Ministers can go to the Dáil or the Senate for decision on them, there are innumerable questions which involve day to day relations with Geneva.

The Department of Industry and Commerce is in almost continual correspondence with the International Labour Office, furnishing emigration and other statistics for incorporation in the international statistics published by the latter, or copies of social legislation adopted in the Free State for translation and distribution to other countries ; asking for information as to law and practice elsewhere for the use of the Irish Administration ; replying to the questionnaires issued by the Office in connection with the preparation of future sessions of the Conference ; and sending or requesting information concerning the studies published by the Office on various technical subjects. A glance at the Department's new publication, *The Irish Trade Journal*, indicates how closely the work of the International Labour Office is followed in the Department and how considerably it enters into all questions of labour administration. It should be added that, in addition to the annual formal meetings of the International Labour Conference, special conferences of a purely scientific character are sometimes held, as for example the Conference on Labour Statistics at which the Free State was represented by Mr. Stanley Lyon,

who was able to bring to the notice of the Labour statisticians of other countries a number of interesting and original suggestions now under consideration in the Free State.

If it were possible to fill in all the details of these diverse national activities, governmental, parliamentary and administrative, and add a corresponding picture of the discussions and decisions of organised workers and employers, we should have a kind of cross section of the International Labour Organisation taken through one of its Members. If we could do the same thing for each of the 56 Members, differing in language, method, tradition, history, economic situation and industrial development, we might be able to form some idea of the complexity of the centre where this diversity of circumstances, ideals and actions has to be integrated into a coherent international entity. But our present task is fortunately more restricted, and we have only now to consider the particular and general conclusions concerning the Free State which can be drawn from the limited summary which precedes.

First of all as regards the active participation of the Free State in these International meetings, we have every reason to be satisfied and even proud of our achievements. In spite of obvious handicaps the Free State has shown its comprehension of the new international problems, and has enhanced its influence and status by the positive contributions which it has made towards their solution. It has proved, too, that it can find representatives whose ability and intelligence more than compensate for any lack of that long experience of international negotiations which the representatives of other countries are often fortunate enough to possess.

There is little that can be suggested as regards the action of the Government. Its effective collaboration in the matter of ratifications, and the excellent work of its representatives in the Conference and of its Depart-

ments at home could with difficulty be bettered. In particular, the Government's scrupulous respect of its obligations concerning the submission of labour Conventions to the legislative authority has helped the International Labour Office in its efforts to secure the universal and strict application of Article 405, the fundamental Article in the constitution of the Organisation.

Ireland has now to her credit eight ratifications of Labour Conventions, and this compares by no means unfavourably with the results which can be shown by other countries. Moreover, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, in introducing the second ratification resolution referred to above, indicated the possibility of further ratifications, and if these can be secured, the Free State will occupy a highly honourable position in the monthly statement of the progress of ratifications which is published by the International Labour Office and officially circulated to all Governments.

In the last analysis, however, the success of the Organisation depends on public opinion. We have already seen that under the Constitution of the Organisation the final decision concerning the ratification of its Conventions in each country lies with the Parliament. In the degree in which the Parliaments of the various countries realise this new international responsibility, and make it a reality and not a formality, progress towards an effective League of peoples will be secured. But parliaments have not only a function of legislation and decision. They can perform, incidentally, particularly when they deal with international questions, another function, namely that of informing and educating public opinion. In order that parliaments should be able to fulfil this function it is necessary that they themselves should be sufficiently informed. In moving the ratification resolution of 30th April, 1925, the Minister for Industry and Commerce gave the Dáil a very comprehensive review of all the activities of the Labour

Conference, and indicated the policy of the Government with regard to all the decisions so far taken at Geneva, both before and after the Free State had become a Member of the International Labour Organisation. Now that this transitional clearing up has taken place and that normal year to year participation in the Conference will occur, it would be desirable to provide for the regular transmission of reports to the Dáil on the work of the Irish Delegation at Geneva, so that when the Dáil comes to take periodically its decisions on the results of each session of the Conference it will be able to make them the subject of well-informed discussions which will enlighten and educate public opinion.

But the Organisation is a tri-partite body, and if Ireland is to play her full part and secure the fullest benefits from her membership of it, it is also by the development of her non-Governmental participation that that result can be secured.

Excellent individual Irish Employers have come to Geneva, men like Mr. Hewat, Mr. O'Shaugnessy and Mr. McLoughlin, but their influence in the Conference, and even their effective participation in its work, has been less than it might have been because they could not speak on behalf of any general industrial organisation of employers in Ireland. Their experience at Geneva must have convinced them that some such organisation is now necessary, and it may be hoped that, as a result, Irish employers will begin to consider the desirability of being able to speak as a body and to make their opinions felt in the International Employers' Federation.

There is a further reason why they should do so. Their lack of organisation renders impossible the existence of any element of continuity in their representation. The procedure and atmosphere of the Conference is novel, previous decisions are often appealed to, and while on the one hand it is desirable that we should dispose of an increasing number of persons having had international

experience, the effectiveness of our representation would undoubtedly be diminished if an entirely new delegation were sent each year. The solution is that each part of the delegation should contain a permanent element, but while this is possible and has been of the greatest value in the case of the Government and workers' delegations, it is practically impossible as regards the employers so long as their organisation is not perfected.

The problem on the workers' side is different. A national organised movement exists on behalf of which Mr. Johnson, Senator Foran and Mr. Cullen could speak with authority. But whereas, in the case of the employers, there is only one International Federation, in the case of the workers there are the general federations of the Christian and Amsterdam movements, and the Irish workers for various reasons are not nationally affiliated to either. In the workers' group at the Conference they are therefore in a somewhat isolated position. It may be that it will prove to be their role to bring about a greater cohesion between these two movements, but in any case their present position presents one of the problems of the future.

Apart, however, from these possibilities of more complete and effective participation in the Conference there are a certain number of more general considerations which arise from any study of the relations between the Free State and the International Labour Organisation. For a young State, which has yet to clothe her international status with reality, membership of an international institution has a special importance and value. It provides the occasion for international contact and experience. It gives opportunities for bringing into the international consciousness a knowledge of our new status and our future potentialities. But more important than these possibilities is the fact that it affords a framework in which constitutional development may be both more easy and more rapid. It should not be forgotten

that the powers of independence are given life by use. If they are not exercised they atrophy. And it is much easier to find opportunities for their use in the general activities of an organised international effort than where international relations have to be built up piecemeal. Ireland is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the principal members of that Commonwealth are also Members of the League.[1] The Commonwealth has what is loosely called a constitution, but what is in reality the integration of a series of complex and varying relationships. The problem of the Commonwealth is the process of reconciling the maximum development of its constituent members with the continued existence of a certain unity and cohesion. But problems of inter-Commonwealth adjustment become less dangerous when they are also problems of a more general order, because they become, so to speak, less personal. The question of the legal effect of the British ratifications of the Labour Conventions referred to above might conceivably have been a subject of lengthly discussion and possibly a matter of friction between Great Britain and the Free State, if those Conventions had concerned say some one other definite Power. As it is, the ratifications of the Free State have passed without comment, and the position as regards the adherence of the Free State to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as regards which the same doubt existed, would now seem to be clear. The registration of the Anglo-Irish Treaty with the League might have given rise to greater objection were it not that a number of Labour Conventions which legally define certain obligations of certain Members of the Commonwealth vis-à-vis of one another had already been so registered.

Whatever difficulties may arise in the future as regards the desire of certain Dominions to manifest internationally their independence, it is certain that those difficulties will

[1] Newfoundland is the exception.

be considerably diminished, if not removed, by the development of the new international organisations. Opposition to or doubtful acquiescence in any new development of Dominion status is largely based on the supposed conflict between complete independence and commonwealth unity. The effective and formal "sovereignty" of a Dominion would seem to be irreconcilable with membership of a Commonwealth expressing its cohesion by individual internal and external executive action in the name of one "sovereign." But the difficulty is more and more rapidly becoming one of terminology. Despite the importance of "sovereignty" in international law, like all other terms invented to simplify the description of observed phenomena, it is no more than a term representing a useful generalisation of a certain characteristic of States in their pre-League relationships. The scientific world is familiar with the successive use of terms correct in themselves, because always corresponding to an accurate generalisation of observed phenomena, but tending to displace one another as observations become more complete. Just as in the description of physical phenomena the electron is displacing the atom, so in the description of inter-State relationships some new term will have to be found for "sovereignty," though the process which has occurred is different. In the scientific field it is the accuracy and amount of observation which have increased, while we have no reason to suppose that the matter observed has altered; whereas in the field of State relationships there have been changes in the relationships themselves which largely diminish the value of our earlier generalisations. Scholars are beginning to discover them, but just as an interval elapses before scientific discoveries affect the practical activities of men, so statesmen in their day to day work are still hampered by obsolete theories and terms. "Sovereignty" was a useful generalisation when the world was a world of independent States. It has pro-

gressively become a less useful generalisation as civilisation has knit itself together into an international complexity of economic and industrial bonds, as States ceased to be independent and became inter-dependent. And finally when, completing that evolution, they realised the need for a definite international organisation, the old conception of sovereignty became not only useless but misleading. "State sovereignty in international affairs," says Laski, "is in truth obsolete.[1]" "Our traditional theories of sovereignty," says Professor Brierly, "at bottom are quite irreconcilable with conceptions of international society.[2]"

What then is the new theory? What are States to seek as the maximum which in the new system corresponds to the old "sovereignty"? Undoubtedly a good deal of the reality which lay behind the old term, the maximum of power to defend their interests and to protect the interests of their citizens and therefore the maximum of influence in the new inter-dependent world society. But as more and more the League fulfils its mission of securing concerted action on matters of general concern it is evident that those objects can only be secured through its organisations. In other words, the first effective condition of modern sovereignty is Membership of the League, the possession by a State of what may be called international citizenship and the international franchise.

It may be urged that two of the greatest of the States do not possess it, the United States and Russia. But they fulfil its essential condition in that they are undoubtedly qualified for it, though they have not desired to exercise it. The United States can enter the League to-morrow without the usual formalities of applying for admission,[3] and no one doubts that, if Russia manifested her desire to collaborate in the work of world peace by an

[1] H. J. Laski: *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 588.

[2] *Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs*, Vol. IV., No. 5, p. 233.

[3] By ratifying the Covenant of the League of which it is a signatory.

application for Membership, her application would be accepted. States like San Marino, Monaco and Liechtenstein have applied for admission and been refused. They no doubt would like to cling to the old theory, but can it be questioned that the fact that they have been judged ineligible for admission to the League has made their pretensions to sovereign equality worth considerably less than they were?

These considerations have a particular interest for Ireland where the satisfaction of our demand for independence has tended to be obscured by obsolete formulae. The independence we lost centuries ago is no longer possessed by any State. The newer and better independence, the right to collaborate with other nations of full stature in the common effort to promote "the peace, security and happiness, the economic and cultural well-being of the human race"[1] is definitely ours. It is in the exercise of that right that we shall reach our full international status. It is in participating in that world effort that we shall be led to perfect our constitutional development and thereby increase the measure of our contribution to its success. There may be adjustments to be made from time to time between the necessities of our evolution and those of the Commonwealth, but the difficulties will be more apparent than real, for there can be no fundamental contradiction between our full participation in a general effort towards a better world civilisation so conceived and our parallel development in a Commonwealth based on the same ideals.

E. J. Phelan.

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[1] President Cosgrave. Speech to the Fourth Assembly after the admission of the Free State to Membership of the League.

PALERMO AT EASTER

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

LANDING at Palermo from Naples gives one something of the impression received on landing at Dun Laoghaire from Holyhead: the traveller is conscious at once of entering a new and a different land. Whatever Sicily is, it is not Italy. Yet what it is, is a far more complicated matter than what Ireland is—for historically, ethnographically and artistically Sicily to-day is the product of a more bewildering series of invasions and conquests than almost any part of Europe. And it is true to say that as a province of United Italy she has no present: she lives wholly in her varied and beautiful past.

Geographically no doubt Sicily is rightly a part of Italy, but it has never been from Rome that she has drawn the inspiration of her greatness. Just as her final conquest by the Romans some 200 years B.C., marked the close of her antique prosperity and inaugurated long centuries of political servitude and artistic decadence, so her final absorption last century into the government of the peninsula has seemed to seal her fate as the Cinderella of the Italian Kingdom, an island of impoverished agriculture and starved industries carried on by a largely illiterate population, an island—and in this her history is not unique—which has always seen her special needs sacrificed to the industrial demands of the mainland. Southern and Northern Italy have ever had conflicting interests, but the poverty and backwardness of the South have been most acute in Sicily, where the discontent of the people in the past has largely found its only means of expression in the *maffia* and other secret societies. And if to-day there is some economic improvement and an intelligent effort is being made to divert into Sicilian

channels some portion of the stream of tourists that annually brings wealth to the cities of Italy, it remains none the less true that the Sicilians are, in the main, a struggling, agricultural and pastoral people, still poor, still backward, and separate in many respects from the people of the mainland.

And yet there have been moments when first Syracuse and then Palermo were greater and richer and more sumptuous cities than Rome herself. The secret at once of the triumphs and the disasters that have been the lot of Sicily is to be sought in her position in the very centre of the Mediterranean through the ages when the Mediterranean was the centre of the civilised world. Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, all in turn coveted her marvellous land-locked harbours, her fruit-laden valleys, her fertile corn-growing soil. From South and from North they drove the aboriginal inhabitants up into the barren fastnesses of the interior and fought among themselves for all the points of vantage along her lovely coasts. But in the long run it was Greece that prevailed: Greek religion and architecture, Greek customs and language. For five hundred years the island was predominatingly Greek, and the impress made on its whole life and civilisation was so profound that no subsequent conquests were able wholly to obliterate it. Thus ancient Greek customs still linger beneath the popular festivals that, to-day, alas, are slowly dying out. Indeed what vision more Greek in its antiquity could be found, even on Greek soil, than the majestic ruins of the three great temples of Selinunte, the stupendous Doric columns and capitals lying in vast heaps, as they were flung down, centuries ago, by an earthquake. All around is silence and loveliness in the hot sunshine—long lines of grey aloes, clumps of yellow broom, tiny irises of most vivid blue, green lizards sunning themselves on the warm stones, a flock of white goats in the distance, and below a sloping, sandy beach stretching down to

the Mediterranean. Or again the wonderful panorama below Girgenti, with a whole series of Doric temples standing out on the headland above the sea, their massive foundations clearly visible, and a few at least of their great columns still proudly erect, giving some faint notion of their noble stateliness. What a sight they must have been for invading Carthaginian ships! In the museum at Syracuse, so admirably arranged by Professor Orsi, one sees something of the exquisite treasures of Greek art that of recent years are being excavated from tombs and temples. Syracuse itself, which in the days of its glory under Dionysius stretched for miles along the mainland, with palaces and gardens and the world-famous theatre, right up to Fort Euryalus, was reckoned for a time the greatest city in the world. To-day it is shrunk back to the tiny island of Ortigia where the early Corinthian invaders first established themselves. It is as though Paris were reduced once more to the island in the Seine.

It was centuries later that Palermo rose to greatness. Six hundred years of avaricious Roman rule quite failed to Romanise the island, while in matters of faith the inhabitants only very slowly exchanged their heathen gods for the Christian truths. They still looked eastwards for inspiration, and on the break-up of the Roman Empire the island fell, after a century of anarchy, an easy prey to Belisarius (535) and passed under the sway of the Byzantine Empire. Syracuse, for a time, was restored to much of its former greatness; the island was adorned with numerous Byzantine churches and monasteries and the people reared to Byzantine worship and enriched with all the wealth of Byzantine art and craftmanship. Nothing material of all this remains to us, for earthquakes swept away what escaped the first fury of the Arab invasion towards the end of the ninth century. But on the whole the Moslem dominion brought peace and prosperity once more to the island and secured

at least some degree of tolerance to its Christian inhabitants. These were allowed to retain their churches, if not to build new ones, and in a measure to live according to their own laws and local customs. From the first the Arabs made Palermo—or Balerm—their capital, and within a few years it became one of the richest and most beautiful cities of the time, with over 300 mosques, great palaces with marvellous gardens, and an elaborate water supply. The Arabs, as we know, were brilliant architects, engineers and decorators, highly skilled as workers in bronze and wood and in the weaving of sumptuous materials. Through them the already oriental character of the island became even more accentuated.

All this magnificence has passed away, but happily scholars have been able to ascertain with certainty many enlightening details of this fruitful period from two contemporary sources (quoted by Miss Cecilia Waern in her *Mediaeval Sicily*): the account written by Ibn Hauqal, a Bagdad merchant, of a visit paid by him to Palermo in 972, and—what for us is even more authoritative—the description given by the Greek monk Theodosius, who accompanied Archbishop Sophronius to Balerm after the fall of Syracuse in 883, and who records with wonder the cosmopolitan character of this rich and busy Moslem city. Yet this apparently solid and successful Arab administration was destined to fall utterly to pieces before the onslaught of a small band of vigorous fighters from Northern Europe. A short ten years, 1061-1072, sufficed to drive the Arabs out of Sicily, to transform Palermo into the Norman capital, and to reveal these Northern adventurers as able politicians and enlightened patrons of the arts.

So when one comes to Palermo and tries to understand something of the forces that went to the building up of the intricate and beautiful art that still survives there in church and palace, all these conquests and sources of

inspiration have to be borne in mind. The Greeks, the Byzantines, the Saracens, all had a hand in what has sometimes been vaguely and inaccurately spoken of as Sicilian Gothic. As Amari, the great historian of the Mussulman rule in Sicily, has said in explaining the condition of the island at the Norman conquest: "Sicily was more than half Arab, and all the rest was Byzantine." And surely the supreme achievement of the Normans was just this: that they accepted and utilised, gathering up and making their own, all that they found. Count Roger and his knights fell under the fascination of Sicily as completely as any modern traveller. They joyfully exchanged their cold northern seas for this wonderful island of sunshine and fruitfulness and apparently inexhaustible wealth. Having no art of their own they embraced whole-heartedly the achievements of their forerunners, not in art and architecture only, but to a remarkable extent in laws and customs. In an age of intolerance they practised a wise measure of tolerance, and though adherents officially of Rome, they not only adapted Byzantine and Saracenic art to their own religious uses, but, as far as the Greek Church was concerned, favoured its religious life side by side with their own. All four Norman rulers—the two Rogers and the two Williams—proved themselves in varying degrees able and enlightened rulers, spending vast sums in the embellishment of their capital. The extent of their building was stupendous, and whether for church or palace they eagerly patronised artists and craftsmen from all parts of the Mediterranean. Their great palaces, still in part standing, such as the Zisa and Cuba were so Moorish in design that for long they were believed to date from the Saracen occupation. Indeed the Norman court, especially under Roger II, was quite semi-oriental in character, the King himself wearing Byzantine robes and surrounding himself with poets, artists and men of science, whether Greek, Arab or Jew.

Thus the whole Norman occupation forms a unique episode, not only in Sicilian history, but also in Byzantine art. During that period Palermo became, in a very real sense, the seat of a great artistic revival. Byzantine art, more especially in mosaic, blossomed afresh, taking on a new and vigorous expression in close harmony with some of the best work of earlier centuries, yet with certain charming features of its own. And, happily, enough of this Byzantine-Norman work has been re-discovered at Palermo to fill the enlightened visitor with a sense of enchantment, while very much still remains for the archaeologist and the critic to explore and classify.

Amid much that is delightful three churches stand out pre-eminent as our most precious inheritance from that wonderful twelfth century:—the little oratory, designed for Greek worship and built for the Greek Admiral Giorgios Antiochenos (1143), now familiar as the Martorana; the Cappella Palatina, a tiny Western basilica built within the royal palace for his own use by King Roger II immediately after his coronation; and the great Benedictine church and cloisters of Monreale, high up on the hill-side above the city (1172-1182), on which William II lavished his wealth and patronage. All these have much in common, all are essentially Byzantine in character, with great marble columns, lovely opus Alexandrinum pavements, walls inlaid with sumptuous marbles, and above all domes, apses and vaulting enriched with the most enchanting mosaics.

The Martorana has been subject to the greatest amount of alteration and restoration, having been made to serve a variety of purposes, yet it retains many delightful features. It forms part of a little group of ancient buildings (including the austere church of San Cataldo with three eastern-looking cupolas) round a tiny courtyard and surmounted by an exquisite twelfth century campanile. Used first by Basilian and later by Benedictine nuns, the chapel has suffered the addition

both of a narthex with nun's choir above, and of a Latin sanctuary and altar-rails in place of the original Greek apse and iconostasis. Happily the mosaics still cover all that remains of the original arches, vaulting and central cupola. Less severe and hieratic than those, far more ancient, at Ravenna, they combine great dignity and richness of tone with an attractive freshness of treatment, qualities characteristic of all the Sicilian mosaics of the period. The whole scheme of decoration follows indeed a clearly marked theological design, traditionally adopted by all Byzantine decorators of the time, yet singularly free from mere conventionality. Christ, His Blessed Mother, angels, prophets, apostles, saints and martyrs, all have their appropriate places, and in addition there is a wealth of elaborate decorative design, sometimes taking the form of texts in beautiful Arabic lettering. Historically one of the most interesting of the mosaics is the large panel of the Coronation of King Roger. A very noble figure of Our Lord places the crown on the head of the King, who wears richly embroidered Greek robes.

Very little remains of the fabulously gorgeous palace erected by this same Roger save only the Palatine chapel. We were fortunate in seeing the latter for the first time on Holy Saturday morning in all the pomp of Easter celebrations: the pontifical Mass, the sumptuous vestments—first a lovely faded purple with silver lace, then white thickly covered with gold embroidery—the Canons in full force, the crowd of servers, the packed congregation, and the wonderful setting of gold and marble and mosaic illuminated by electric light and dozens of tall candles. Closely similar to the Martorana in all its main features, the Palatine, as befits a royal chapel, is yet more sumptuous, its paving more elaborate, its marbles more precious, its gilding more lavish. A noteworthy feature is the beautiful pulpit, sheeted with slabs of coloured marbles, and beside it stands a great carved stone Paschal candle-stick of much-disputed *provenance*. On

closer examination there is, of course, a good deal of restoration, and the reconstructed west end is a deplorable example of modern Italian taste. On the other hand much fresh beauty of detail revealed itself on later visits, but what one carried away as an unforgettable memory was the golden loveliness of the chapel on that Holy Saturday.

Scarcely less overwhelming was the impression received of the great church of Monreale at High Mass on Easter Sunday morning. Restored of course it has been, yet substantially it stands as King William built it for the Benedictines, endowing it with great riches and employing upon it all the most skilful craftsmen of his kingdom. One is filled with amazement at the church building capacity of those days, when one remembers that the ten years of the building of Monreale were partly at least contemporaneous with the rebuilding of the great cathedral of Palermo only a few miles distant. The church is marvellously beautiful in stateliness of line and spacious proportions even more than in brilliancy of colour. The massive granite columns of the nave with Corinthian capitals lead up to the richly decorated sanctuary with its high terminal apse, a stately mosaic figure of Christ above, and below an enthroned Madonna and Child with attendant angels, evangelists, etc. Not an inch of surface is left undecorated with either marble or mosaic. The upper wall spaces of the nave are devoted to a series of wholly delightful scenes from the Old Testament: the Creation, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, the histories of Isaac and Jacob (including some quaint camels), the Ark dexterously poised on two hillocks while the animals are being pushed out, a wonderful circular rainbow, and so forth, all treated with unusual freedom and an attractive naiveté. Another imperishable treasure of the cathedral is the great bronze doors; but it is of course the cloisters of Monreale that are world-famous. To do justice to the intricate loveliness

of the endless series of decorated marble columns that surround the quadrangle in pairs—each with its own special design and significance—is impossible in a few lines. A good description of many of them and a discussion of the various artistic problems they raise may be found in *Mediaeval Sicily*, by Cecilia Waern, an authoress to whom we are indebted for much artistic information concerning the island.

Holy Week at Palermo struck one as at once devout and cheerful, and inspired, if one may say so, with a sense of the dramatic. It has none of the austerity of a Spanish Holy Week, no wearing of black, no external signs of desolation. All the shops remained open, and the confectioners did an enormous trade in rich and elaborate Easter cakes adorned with Paschal lambs in coloured sugar. But the churches were packed for all the services, the confessionals thronged, and all Holy Thursday the crowds passed ceaselessly from church to church. It was almost impossible to get in or out of the huge baroque church of the Theatini, which, standing as it does in the very centre of the city, and forming one angle of the beautiful eighteenth century circus where the old Via Maqueda crosses the Corso, was filled all day with a shifting throng. For the Adoration of the Cross the crucifix was usually laid at the feet of a seated figure of Our Lady, robed in black with a sword piercing her heart. The Altars of Repose were most elaborate, vases of flowers and electric lights covering the whole floor space of the chapel. A special feature was the young wheat, very pale green, grown on a flat dish to a height of eight or nine inches, tied round with red ribbon, and brought with name attached as the family offering. In one church we noticed a full-sized woolly lamb as the central ornament. Crowds of eager children hung round the Altars of Repose and scrambled for the best places.

On Good Friday afternoon the churches appeared shut, and the great event that kept all Palermo in the

streets was the carrying in procession of a recumbent figure of Our Lord in the tomb, followed by an immense wooden figure of the Madonna Addolorata, with anguished face, richly arrayed in long black velvet robes and a vast halo of gilt rays behind her head. The statues, of which we saw two in different processions, were nearly life-size and were surrounded with candles and purple flowers, and the whole was carried shoulder-high on a great bier. It was such an immense weight that twenty-four men were needed to carry it fore and aft, each pair of bearers with interlocked arms for greater security; but even so, the whole structure swayed dangerously at times, and the men were compelled to rest every two minutes. The procession consisted of bands of music, of all the male confraternities of the town in their distinctive insignia, and of various personages in armour and other historical costumes. The crowds were exceedingly devout, all the men standing bare-headed as the figures were borne past, and it was noteworthy that the procession was allowed to pass the full length of the Via Roma, the principal tram route of the city, blocking all the trams for an hour. No one displayed the least impatience at this. For Easter Sunday large figures of the Risen Christ are placed above the High Altars, and at Monreale a similar figure, with one of Our Lady, was carried in procession round the little old town after High Mass amid great crowds and the playing of joyful music.

It must not be imagined that the interest of Palermo is wholly architectural and mediaeval. The city lies in a wonderful position on a wide bay at the foot of a great circle of steep hills. High up on one of them, the Monte Pellegrino, is the historic grotto of St. Rosalie, once a pilgrimage spot of difficult and meritorious ascent, now comfortably reached by motor up a new winding road with enchanting views of the Mediterranean. The fertile valley at the top of which lies Monreale, is characteristic of Sicily, its slopes closely planted with

oranges and lemons, almonds and olives, nespoli and prickly pear. Everywhere the wild flowers are luxuriant at Easter time, great hedges of geranium, banks of wild marigold of a vivid yellow, blue borage, slender magenta gladioli. In February whole hillsides, we were told, are pink with almond blossom. From every garden tall waving palm-trees rise up, and the aloes, often grown as hedges, add a very Southern note to the landscape.

Picturesque sights too are to be seen in the town itself. The well-known gay little *carretti*, painted in vivid blues and yellows, with elaborate patterns on wheels and shafts and dramatic pictures on the side panels, are to be met at every moment. And the lean little horses still wear harness bright with crimson and blue tassels and ornaments, and the diminutive Corsican donkeys trot sturdily along with their loads of vegetables.

And then there are the goats, those patient goats who, morning and evening, are driven into the streets of Palermo to bring their milk to the very doors of those who need it, even indeed up the stairs of the high houses to the doors of the flats. They lie against the walls of the houses awaiting their turn to be milked, undismayed by the busy traffic, and it is a pretty sight in the early morning in the poorer quarters to see the children standing round with cups in their hands and eagerly drinking up the warm milk for their breakfasts. But for picturesqueness the goats themselves should be seen in the open country. At home a solitary, tethered goat always has a desolate air, but when a herd of white, silky goats with wavy horns suddenly comes in view, cropping the rough herbage on a hillside in the sunshine, it is indeed a charming sight, and you feel that the animals are in their right surroundings.

No visitor to Palermo should omit the expedition either by rail or motor to Cefalù, a little straggling sea-side town built under the shelter of a steep rocky hill-side and crowned by a majestic church of the Norman

period. It stands in an incomparable position, with flights of wide stone steps leading up to the two square impressive towers of the West front, adorned with exquisite little Romanesque windows and connected by a triple-arched open portico. The architecture, both inside and out, presents many features of interest to architects, but even to the uninitiated tourist it is a singularly beautiful building. The simple white-washed nave with its dark open timber roof is clearly of later date, as it is of lower proportions, than the high apsed chancel covered with gleaming mosaics in an admirable state of preservation. One has the advantage here of seeing the complete scheme of decoration as originally planned, for the church is one of those built for Latin worship, and the mosaics, perhaps for this reason, have a less oriental character than those already described. The central dominating figure of Our Lord, fine as it still is, has unfortunately been restored and sentimentalised, but below is an exquisite figure of the Madonna Orante, with upraised hands, in flowing Greek robes, flanked by brilliant angels with the immense many-coloured wings which are an attractive feature of Sicilian Byzantine work. Below and on the side walls are apostles and youthful martyrs and venerable doctors, all solemn and hieratic, and robed in rich garments, just as the mosaic workers of King Roger produced them seven hundred years ago. When we had finished our inspection we gained permission, for a few centesimi, to carry our luncheon up into the quiet orchard that lies behind and above the church on the hillside, and sat gazing down on the irregular mass of tiled roof and arcaded stone-work and marvelled at its grey loveliness in the warm blue atmosphere.

But we must not wander further afield than Cefalù. The delights and the fascination of the whole island are far beyond the limits of a single article.

V. M. Crawford.

DECLINING LIBERTY IN AMERICA

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THE mutilation of liberty in Continental Europe is one of the major casualties of the Great War. At least four countries have been blessed, or cursed, with dictators. These men have diminished some important liberties and utterly destroyed others. While the losses have been greatest in the field of political liberty, there has been a serious decline in those forms of freedom which benefit the individual in his every-day activities and associations. Since all these assaults upon liberty are traceable to social and political troubles arising out of the War, there is good reason to hope that they will not continue indefinitely.

Comparatively few persons are aware that a notable diminution of liberty has occurred in the United States. As in Europe, part of it is due to the War and to the disturbances which accompanied and followed that great catastrophe. Nevertheless, the most alarming dangers and injuries to liberty in America are independent of the War and its consequences. They had begun to operate several years earlier. At most, the War intensified or accelerated the process.

Modern public liberty is of three principal kinds:—civil, economic and political. The first affects the individual in the ordinary activities of life. It includes freedom of worship and expression, freedom to move about, to engage in a lawful occupation, to join with one's fellows in various forms of associations, to make contracts and to enjoy due process of law. Economic liberty falls under the head of civil liberty in so far as

it concerns the right to labour, to follow a business, to acquire property. As economic opportunity, however, it constitutes a special and very important kind of liberty. In this sense, it means not merely absence of arbitrary restraint. It denotes the presence of effectual and reasonable opportunity. Obviously this is considerably more than mere freedom to enter economic contracts; for these may or may not be adequate to a reasonable kind of life. Finally, political liberty denotes the legal power of the citizen to take part in the processes of representative government. It covers chiefly membership in political associations, exercise of the electoral franchise, and holding public office.

It is no exaggeration to say that all three of these kinds of liberty are more gravely jeopardized in the United States to-day than they have been at any time since the beginning of the 19th century. Let us review the main facts and tendencies which support this disturbing generalization.

CIVIL LIBERTY

American civil liberties are substantially all expressed and guaranteed in the first ten amendments to the federal constitution. They comprise freedom of religious worship, of speech, of the press and of assemblage; security of person, property and residence, and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures; protection against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law; the right to speedy and public trial, and freedom from excessive bail, excessive fines and cruel and unusual punishments. While these guarantees restrain only the national government, their counterpart is to be found in the constitutions of the several states. Hence these rights and liberties of the individual are protected against arbitrary interference whether by private individuals, by state authorities, or by the federal government. Nevertheless, the degree of protection which they actually receive

at a given time depends to some extent upon the attitude of legislatures, executives and courts. Under the stress of an assumed present emergency, it is possible for any of the three departments of government to diminish freedom of speech, of printing and of association. And this undermining process may be carried so far as to pervert our traditions of liberty and to encourage a dangerous attitude of popular acquiescence and indifference. Following are several instances of this destructive process committed by national, state and municipal authorities.

(1) *National Interferences.*—Somewhat more than a year ago, the Secretary of State permitted a distinguished foreigner, County Karolyi, to visit the United States only on condition that he would make no political speeches in this country; and a few months later the Secretary positively declined to permit the Countess Karolyi to approach our shores. The only legal justification advanced for this arbitrary performance was two laws enacted to meet the exigencies of war. They were not intended nor needed for peace-time conditions. When questioned by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State absolutely refused to give the reasons which moved him to invoke this extraordinary legislation against the Karolyis. It is well known that the Hungarian government actively favoured the suppression of the one and the exclusion of the other.

While this action by the State Department does not directly diminish the liberty of any American citizen, it is a serious indirect menace, and it departs sharply from our traditional attitude of hospitality to the foreigner and encouragement to the opponents of tyranny in other lands. Abraham Lincoln once declared that the bulwark of our liberty and independence "is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit," he said, "and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

If we permit administrative officers to act arbitrarily and tyrannically toward foreigners, we shall easily be tempted to acquiesce when similar treatment is meted out to the weak among our own citizens. Indeed, the indifference with which the arbitrary restriction put on Count Karolyi and the arbitrary exclusion of his wife have been received by our press and public, is disturbing evidence of the decline in our vigilant love of liberty. When we recall the fact that Charles Stewart Parnell was accorded the freedom of the floor of Congress and that many other distinguished Irishmen were given full liberty to denounce Great Britain in every important city of the United States, we realize how far our government has departed in the Karolyi cases from our glorious traditions of welcome to foreign opponents of political tyranny. Previous to the War, no American Secretary of State ever condescended to exclude any foreign defender of liberty at the behest of a foreign government. Daniel Webster not only permitted Count Kossuth to visit America and to denounce the Hungarian government of that day, but attended a dinner given in his honour. Verily, it is a far cry from Webster to Kellogg!

Another arbitrary interference with liberty by the Executive Department occurs in relation to foreign loans by American bankers. Had the negotiations for funding the War debt owed to the United States by France been successful in the fall of 1925, the French Government would have obtained a very large loan. When they failed, the Administration made public its attitude of disfavour towards loans contemplated by American bankers to that government. As a consequence, no such loan was made. More recently, the State Department intimated that it "would not look favourably either upon lending money directly to Russia or to other foreign countries for promoting their trade with the Soviet Republic." This attitude is based upon the refusal of the present Russian government to repay the money

borrowed from the United States by the Russian government under Kerensky. These and other interferences with the freedom of American citizens to make foreign loans are the outcome of a policy thus described by the *Washington Post*, June 19, 1926 :—

> Early in the administration of President Harding the government decided to keep itself fully informed as to further European borrowings from the people of the United States. On May 25, 1921, the President held a conference with the leading bankers of the United States, and it was agreed that no private loans should be made to European governments until the State Department had been consulted.
>
> Early in 1925 the administration decided that it was against the best interests of the United States for private parties to loan money to any foreign governments that had failed to adjust their debts to the United States. This policy was justified on the ground that 'our national interest demands that our resources be not permitted to flow into countries which do not honour their obligations'.

On very high authority, we are told that "bankers are becoming restive under the application of this policy, for they think it is an unwarranted interference with their business." Undoubtedly it is all of that. Whatever legal claim American bankers have to protection from their government in this matter should be honoured, whether or not the loans are pleasing to the Administration.

According to the authority to whom allusion has just been made, "bankers are beginning to feel that the government cannot simply disapprove some loans and escape the implication that it is at the same time approving others." Indeed, this very practice seems to be not unknown in the State Department. To be sure, the approval given by the Department to certain loans to some of the weak governments between Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama is carefully declared to be merely "informal." In well-informed circles, it is a matter of common knowledge that no American banking firm would lend money to Honduras or Costa Rica or Salvador

unless the transaction had first been examined and found satisfactory by the State Department. Does this mean that the Department "informally" gives "an understanding" that the legal and military power of the government will be available to collect the interest and the principal of the "informally examined" loans? If that is not the meaning of the proceeding, if the government undertakes to do nothing in favour of the makers of such loans that would not be done on behalf of any other American citizen in any other country, why has this practice arisen of examining such transactions in the State Department? It looks like either an arbitrary interference with American citizens who have money to lend, or a commitment of the government to a policy of financial imperialism.

A clear instance of the general decline of the spirit of liberty in America is reflected in certain bills which were strongly supported in the last session of Congress relating to the registration and deportation of aliens. According to the provisions of one of these measures, every alien would be required to register with the immigration authorities, to have his finger prints recorded and his photograph taken, and to provide complete information concerning himself. All this would be contained on a card which the alien must be ready to present whenever called upon by an agent of the Department of Labour or the Department of Justice. Moreover, an alien would have to repeat his registration every year and to pay a heavy fee on each occasion. This is the kind of Prussianism against which we were supposed to have fought in order to make the world safe for democracy. By the provisions of another bill, any alien could be deported who had served a prison sentence of one year for any crime whatever; or who had served several terms aggregating eighteen months or more; or whose combined sentences amounted to only one year if they were imposed for offences against the prohibition

laws. The latter provision indicates a peculiar disregard of liberty of which something more should be said.

Before the year 1919, the Federal government had no constitutional authority to legislate on the subject of intoxicating liquor, except in the District of Columbia. During that year an amendment, the eighteenth, was added to the national constitution, which not merely empowered Congress to pass laws of this character, but itself took the form of a prohibitory statute. It made the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation and exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes illegal and unconstitutional. To Congress it left merely the authority and the obligation of enforcing the constitutional prohibition by appropriate legislation and penalties. Obviously this was a very grave restriction of individual liberty. Nevertheless, it might conceivably have been justified as the only adequate method of dealing with a great social evil. In such circumstances, the prohibition of the liquor traffic would not have been a violation of natural rights. For the opportunity of the individual to buy or sell intoxicating drink in a public market is not so necessary to his welfare that it may not justly be abolished for the sake of a great public good. However, the history of our prohibition legislation, particularly in the last three years, creates a very grave doubt whether this was a necessary, or even a wise method of meeting the drink evil or promoting social welfare.

Whatever we may think about this question, and whatever may be said in defence of the eighteenth amendment against the charge that it unduly violates individual liberty, there is no room for reasonable doubt concerning the tyrannical character of certain provisions of the Volstead Act. This is the law which Congress enacted to put constitutional prohibition into effect. In some of its provisions it goes far beyond the eighteenth amendment. It not only outlaws the liquor *traffic*, but

forbids the possession, manufacture, and transportation of liquor for consumption by oneself or one's friends. Of course, the object of these extraordinary interferences with personal liberty was primarily the enforcement of the law against the traffic. Nevertheless a very powerful element in the organisations and groups favouring prohibition desired to have individual drinking and treating one's friends forbidden for its own sake. These persons either believe that to drink intoxicating liquor is morally wrong or that it is in some way harmful to the drinker. In either case, they believe they have a right to constitute themselves the guardians of their fellowmen through force of law. The extent of their respect for individual liberty can easily be inferred. Clearly this theory and attitude are in direct conflict with individual rights and reasonable individual liberty.

If the prohibition of the liquor traffic were a necessary or the best means of dealing with the drink evil, and if outlawing individual possessions, consumption, giving away, etc., were essential to the abolition of the traffic these drastic provisions of the Volstead Act might possibly be ethically justified. So far, however, is the second condition from realization that its exact contrary is true. A very large part of the opposition to the whole body of prohibition legislation is traceable to these tyrannical provisions. They have been a hindrance rather than a help to the enforcement of prohibition. This fact is now so generally recognized that the officials no longer make any attempt to prevent home manufacture or possession or transportation of liquor for one's own use. All the efforts of the enforcement agents are concentrated upon sales and upon manufacture and transportation for sale.

It has recently become fashionable in certain quarters to denounce certain activities of the federal government as bureaucratic and as injurious to individual liberty. There is no warrant for this position. The general

purpose of federal bureaus is the administration and carrying out of laws and legislative policies. A bureau cannot make a new law ; at most, it can draw up regulations and ordinances for the specific application of the statute enacted by Congress. In general, those bureaus fall into two classes : those which are intended to promote the welfare of certain important social groups ; and those which have been created to restrain economic oppression committed against the general public or a large number of persons by a comparatively small group. Examples of the first class are the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau and other bureaus in the Department of Labour, and several bureaus in the Department of Agriculture. The second class is exemplified by the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission, whose functions are respectively to prevent the railroads from levying excessive charges and to protect honest businessmen and the consumers against unfair methods of competition. In reality, most of the federal bureaus increase general liberty inasmuch as they increase the economic opportunity of the weaker classes. To be sure, the administrative rules drawn up by a bureau may sometimes be unduly inquisitorial or meddlesome, but this possibility is inherent in all administrative agencies.

Another unfounded charge that the federal government is diminishing, or threatening to diminish, individual liberty, arises out of proposals that it should take over some of the industrial regulation which is now reserved to the several states. For example, the assertion was widely and wildly made in 1925 that the proposed child labour amendment to the Constitution would subject the family and the home to arbitrary interference by the federal agents charged with the task of enforcing a national child labour law. As a matter of fact, the interference with the home and with parental control over children involved in a federal law would not differ

from that which is involved in state legislation. There is no reason why a federal statute or federal enforcement agents should curtail individual liberty to a greater extent than the statutes or enforcement agencies of the states. The charge of bureaucracy and tyranny urged against federal child labour legislation was for the most part an unreasoning inference drawn from the Volstead Act and its administration. Between the prohibition legislation and statutes for the protection of the weaker industrial classes, there is an enormous difference in spirit, scope and object. The former restricts the liberty of the great majority; protective labour laws restrict the actual liberty of a small minority in order to enlarge the genuine liberty, that is, the economic opportunity of large classes of persons.

Thus far, we have been considering restrictions of liberty by the Executive and legislative branches of the federal government. Even the Judicial Department has made a contribution. June 8, 1925, the Supreme Court of the United States, by a majority of seven to two, upheld the constitutionality of the criminal anarchy statute enacted by the State of New York in the year 1902. The decision was rendered in the case of Benjamin Gitlow, who had been sentenced to a substantial term in prison. According to the provisions of this Act, any person is guilty of a felony who "by word of mouth or writing advocates, advises, or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force or violence." Gitlow was, and still is, a Communist. As a member of the Board of Managers of a Communist paper, he was responsible for the publication of a pronouncement called "The Left Wing Manifesto." Included in its exuberant verbiage were the denunciation of legislative measures as a means of bringing about Socialism, the advocacy of a Communist revolution through mass industrial revolts and revolutionary mass action, culminating in a revolutionary

dictatorship of the proletariat. Counsel for Gitlow contended that this language did not constitute anarchy within the meaning of the statute, since it did not advocate the use of force or violence in specific terms, nor urge anyone to commit a specific act of violence or unlawfulness with the object of overthrowing organized government. Both the trial court and the court of appeals in New York State rejected this contention. When the case was appealed to the Supreme Court, the important question for decision was whether the statute and its application in the lower courts had deprived Gitlow of the liberty of expression which is guaranteed by the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The decision was against Gitlow. The Court held that the Gitlow manifesto was not a mere statement of abstract doctrine, nor a mere prediction that revolutionary mass strikes are inevitable in the process of economic evolution, but advocated and urged revolutionary mass action for the destruction of organized parliamentary government. In the opinion of the Court, it was not necessary that Gitlow should have urged some *definite* or *immediate* act of force or violence, nor that he should have urged *immediate* execution of the *general* methods which he advocated. Nor, declared the Court, was a law which prohibited such general incitements to revolution a denial of constitutional freedom of speech. The State has a right to protect itself against danger through abuse of free speech and it is the judge of the degree of danger. "The immediate danger is none the less real and substantial because the effect of a given utterance cannot be accurately foreseen . . . . A single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smouldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration."

Justices Holmes and Brandeis did not agree with the majority of the Court. In his dissenting opinion, the former declared that the question to be decided in every

such case is "whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create *a clear and present danger* that they will bring about the substantive evils that the State has a right to prevent." To the assertion of the majority that Gitlow's manifesto was more than a theory, that it was an incitement, the venerable and scholarly Justice replied :— "Every idea is an incitement. Eloquence may set fire to reason. But whatever may be thought of the redundant discourse before us, it had no chance of starting a present conflagration."

Justice Holmes admitted that constitutional freedom of speech is no legal bar to a statute which aims at the prevention and suppression of utterances which create a "clear and present danger" of violent revolution. He refused to concur in the condemnation of Gitlow because he saw very clearly that this man's utterances were not of that character. As a matter of fact, they were merely long distance prophecies based upon the fantastic faith that an insignificant and utterly negligible group of similar fanatics would some day become sufficiently powerful to bring about the overthrow of government which he ardently desired. On the other hand, the majority of the Court seems to have attributed to this wild prognostication some semblance of real danger. At any rate, the majority rejected Justice Holmes' test of "clear and present danger." The State, they held, had a right to protect itself against even remote and problematical danger. As a means to this end it was constitutionally empowered to suppress the traditional right of free speech.

In passing, it is worthy of note that the Irish labour agitator, Jim Larkin, was pardoned by Governor Smith after he had been convicted and sentenced for the same kind of utterances as those contained in the manifesto issued by Gitlow. In the message accompanying his exercise of executive clemency, Governor Smith expressed

substantially the same view as that contained in Justice Holmes's dissenting opinion. The Governor's statement exemplified common sense, devotion to our traditional principles and practices relating to free speech, and a complete absence of hysterical fear concerning the stability of our political institutions. He likewise pardoned Gitlow shortly after the Supreme Court had confirmed the conviction and sentence.

Twenty-five years ago, or even twenty years ago, the decision in the Gitlow case would have been almost impossible. In 1925, it was rendered possible by events connected with and following the World War. The Espionage Act, completed by Congress in 1918, went further in restraining freedom of speech than any previous federal enactment. It would not have been supported by public opinion during either the Mexican or the Civil War. Popular acceptance of this drastic war-time statute and the rather general hysteria about revolution and radical movements after the war, created an atmosphere in which the Gitlow decision was more or less to be expected. Referring to freedom of speech and of the press, Professor Holcombe declares :—" Under modern conditions, it is a much less substantial right than the freedom of speech and of the press enjoyed by the men of the 19th century."[1]

(2) *State Interferences.* The New York criminal anarchy statute, under which Gitlow was convicted, was enacted in consequence of the public alarm aroused by the assassination of President McKinley, and aimed at political anarchism rather than at revolutionary economic theories. Nevertheless, all the men who have been sentenced under it were upholders of hateful economic doctrines.

Since the War, upwards of twenty states of the American Union have passed what are generally known as " criminal syndicalism laws." The designation is accurately descriptive of their origin and purpose. It

[1] *The Foundation of the Modern Commonwealth*, p. 386.

refers to a very radical labour union called the "Industrial Workers of the World"—more familiarly and conveniently distinguished as the "I.W.W." Like the Communist Party, this organization discards peaceful political methods and relies upon various measures of industrial violence to bring about a regime of industrial syndicalism. Among the immediate practices which it advocates is that of industrial sabotage, that is, the destruction of machinery and the dislocation of processes in factories and industrial operations generally. To deal with this organization and its practices and to prevent the growth of a vaguely feared Bolshevism, was the object of these criminal syndicalism statutes.

The Massachusetts law of 1919 may be taken as typical. It punishes with a maximum of three years imprisonment, or $1,000 fine, or both, anyone who by speech or document "advocates, advises, counsels, or incites assault upon any public official or the killing of any person or the unlawful destruction of real or personal property or the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the Commonwealth." The one instance in which the law was called into operation indicates its practical scope. Early in the present year a Lithuanian named Anthony Bimba was convicted of violating this statute in a speech to about 200 of his fellow countrymen delivered in the Lithuanian language. The meeting was held in the Lithuanian Hall in Brockton. Following are the significant portions of the naive harangue:—"We intend to overthrow the American capitalistic government by revolution in the same way that they did in Russia, and to establish the same kind of government that they now have in Russia . . . . We don't believe in the ballot, we don't believe in any form of organization but the Soviet form, and we shall establish the Soviet form of government here. The red flag shall fly on the Capitol at Washington, and there will also be one on the Lithuanian Hall at Brockton."

The likelihood that such " wild and whirring words " addressed to an insignificant number of an insignificant foreign group would, to quote the language of the Supreme Court in the Gitlow case, " kindle a fire that, smouldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration—" is utterly ludicrous. Nevertheless, Bimba was duly convicted. Should the conviction be appealed to the Supreme Court, that tribunal would probably feel constrained to sustain it on the basis of the precedent set by the Gitlow decision.

The doctrines proscribed by the foregoing laws are indeed unreasonable. No good can come to any community from preaching them. Conceivably, they might some day meet with such a wide acceptance as to constitute a " clear and present danger " to social peace and welfare. Inasmuch as that day is in the remote and uncertain future, there is no good reason why such legislation should be on our statute books now. Overt criminal acts forbidden by these laws can be adequately dealt with under previously existing penal statutes. On the other hand, their enactment has produced certain definite evils. They can easily be abused, in the process of administration, by executive officers or by the courts. A pertinent example has been provided by the operation of the Criminal Syndicalism Act of California. A prominent and cultured woman, Anita Whitney, has been sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment for mere membership in one of the organizations against which the law was directed. She had publicly opposed the use of violence in any form. After her conviction, the author of the California statute declared that it was never meant to apply to such persons as Miss Whitney or such situations as were presented in her case. In the second place, these laws create a dangerous precedent. If the preaching of Communist doctrine may be prohibited by law, why not also the advocacy of " radical " doctrines which are contrary to the prevailing economic opinion.

The transition is easy, and there are powerful persons and organizations that would favour the enactment of such a law. In the third place, the existence of such legislation bespeaks an unreasoning fear and a cowardly lack of faith in our institutions. Finally, such laws tend to obscure in the popular mind the main value of the constitutional guarantee of free speech; that is, the protection which it affords to unpopular minorities.

(3) *Interferences by Local Authorities.*—Sheriffs, police officers, and mayors have made occasional contributions to the diminution of liberty. They have prevented or dissolved public meetings without proper warrant of legality. Sometimes the action has been directly contrary to the law; at other times, it has been executed under some such specious pretence as that the hall was unsafe or the assemblage would tend to disturb the public peace. Some of the most flagrant examples of these practices occurred during the present year in connection with a strike in Passaic, New Jersey. At one meeting, the sheriff read the riot act and thereafter acted on the assumption that martial law was automatically established for an indefinite time by this bit of vocal exercise. Leaders of the strikers were arrested and jailed on such general charges as "incitement to riot" or "utterances against the government." One man was arrested for having exclaimed: "They shall not pass!" In one case, bail for the release of the prisoner was fixed at $30,000 by the local judge, although the offence charged was of the vague and relatively trivial character just described. In due time, these petty violations of constitutional rights are nullified through appropriate action in the higher courts. Nevertheless, they produce a great deal of inconvenience and suffering, and interfere seriously with the lawful conduct of a strike.

How economic and political freedom has been diminished or mutilated in recent years will be discussed in a second article.

JOHN A. RYAN.

THE HUNDRED BEST LATIN HYMNS

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

The Hundred Best Latin Hymns. Selected by J. S. Phillimore, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt. Glasgow: Gowans and Gray. 1926. 1s. (paper). 2s. (cloth).

"THE Latin of the Catholic Church, vernacular to no man, mother tongue of Christendom, is warm with a vitality of appeal and association that can match any of the national poesies—which, by the way, owe so much to it." So, in a preface which reveals Catholic faith and fine literary scholarship, Professor Phillimore pleads for this selection which he has made from the hymnology of Catholic Europe. To the average English poetry-lover the book will be a revelation of unknown beauty. Hymns with which Catholics have been familiar from childhood—*Adeste, fideles, Stabat Mater, Dies irae, Ave maris stella, Vexilla Regis,* the two hymns to the Holy Ghost, the Eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas, and those rhythmical masterpieces, *Te Deum, Salve Regina* and *Victimae Paschali*—are here printed for what they are, poems unsurpassed in the purity of their music. To quote the most accomplished of mediaeval hymnists :—

Dulce melos
Tangat caelos !
Dulce lignum
Dulci dignum
Credimus melodia :
Voci vita non discordet ;
Cum vox vitam non remordet,
Dulcis est symphonia.

I have called Adam of St. Victor the most accomplished of mediaeval hymnists. Professor Phillimore apparently counts him the greatest of them all ; for in this selection of the hundred best hymns Adam of St. Victor is given forty pages, as against five to St. Ambrose. More surprising still, the whole school of " Ambrosian " hymnody is here allowed barely twenty pages, whilst over a hundred are given to the more lyrical French hymnody of the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries. Prescription, as Professor Phillimore reminds us in his preface, is indeed a strong bias; but the prescription of liturgical usage is not the only motive which makes me regret the absence of so many familiar friends. Latin hymnody has two *grands siècles*: the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries (the age of Ambrose, Prudentius, Sedulius, Gregory and Venantius Fortunatus), and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for which Professor Phillimore has a marked predilection. Each age has its own technique. St. Ambrose and his imitators wrote the hymns with which Catholic priests are so familiar in the old classical iambics and trochaics, adhering more or less strictly to the classical rules of quantity and metre: the majesty of these early hymns is due in part to the skill which makes accent blend unfailingly with quantity. Mediaeval hymnists had a wider range. Accent replaces quantity, the metres are more varied, more definitely subordinate to musical accompaniment; and in the vast majority of mediaeval hymns rhyme is present, alluring, but not always strengthening. It is idle to choose between two arts in which technique differs so widely; but both should be adequately represented in the "Best Hundred." Of the later art this selection offers us numerous masterpieces, set in a frame of jewels which are often amazingly brilliant. Of the earlier art we are given the masterpieces alone.

Have we even all the masterpieces? Those who know their hymns from the versions which we read in the Breviary must look twice before blaming Professor Phillimore for the absence of a favourite. One of the hymns given in this selection—*Aurora lucis rutilat*—contains no less than three of our Breviary hymns, all excerpts from this one source: *Aurora caelum purpurat* (alas! for the havoc wrought by Pope Urban VIII and his "reforming" commission), *Tristes erant apostoli*, and *Paschale mundi gaudium*. Similarly, the curious *Carmen abecedarium* of Sedulius contains three of our Christmas hymns; and three of the ferial hymns for Lauds are composed of verses

and half-verses chosen with wonderful skill from two hymns of Prudentius which Professor Phillimore prints here in full. It is a pleasure thus, almost unexpectedly, to light on old friends, but I am still sore for the loss of others. Where is *Salvete, flores martyrum*, for example? Or *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*? Or *Jam lucis orto sidere*? And I have looked in vain for the grand hymn to the Apostles, with its sense of hard-won victory :—

Ecclesiarum principes,
Belli triumphales duces,
Caelestis aulae milites,
Et vera mundi lumina.

These are all hymns by poets whose work is already represented in this selection. But one name is inexcusably absent. There is not here a single specimen of St. Gregory's magnificent Vesper hymns, perhaps the most sublime of all this early hymnody.

Lucis Creator optime,
Lucem dierum proferens,
Primordiis lucis novae
Mundi parans originem.

So begins the grand series which, day by day, makes the work of creation the theme of new poetical meditation. Irishmen have (or ought to have) a special interest in the hymns of St. Gregory ; for, if we follow the account given in the Irish *Liber hymnorum*, these Vesper hymns—probably also the series which we recite at Matins, beginning *Primo dierum omnium*—were a portion of those " hymns of the week " which St. Gregory sent as a gift to the Irish church and in return for which St. Columcill composed and sent to St. Gregory his famous *Altus prosator*. Professor Phillimore's preface contains an apology for the omission of *Altus prosator*. I feel that an apology is also owing to St. Gregory : all the more so because nineteenth-century critisism has made it the fashion to deny his authorship of the Gregorian hymns.

However, Professor Phillimore has a right to his own more personal taste ; and it is astonishing how much he has contrived to pack into his " Best Hundred." There is an early, desperately theological chant by that convert professor of rhetoric, Marius Victorinus, which helps us to understand the religious emotions of which *Te Deum* (here ascribed to Nicetas a Remesiana) and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the Morning Song of Greek liturgy, are the sublime expression. St. Hilary, the first of Latin hymnists, is here also : his trochaics have fresh vigour, but they lack the finish of Ambrosian iambics, and there is none of the lyrical inspiration which makes St Ambrose one of the great masters of hymnody. For we can never have too much of St. Ambrose. Since the days of St. Augustine, learned and simple have found comfort in the manly vigour of songs which made their first appeal to the crowded churches of Milan.

Surgamus ergo strenue :
Gallus iacentes excitat
Et somnolentos increpat,
Gallus negantes arguit.

Gallo canente spes redit,
Aegris salus refunditur,
Mucro latronis conditur,
Lapsis fides revertitur.

Prudentius catches occasionally the same spirit of early Christian fervour, notably in the opening verses of his *Ales diei nuntius*. But he is too much of a *littérateur* to be a good writer of hymns, and the Church has done wisely in making free selection from his over-elaborate verses. Sedulius also has more rhetoric than poetry :—

Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum venire quid times ?
Non eripit mortalia
Qui regna dat caelestia.

That is straight from the schools of rhetoric ; but of its kind how good it is ! And how many have found devotion in the hymn from which it is taken ! Bye-the-bye,

even the severest critic of Urban VIII.'s commission must admit that the first two lines of this verse have more point and run more smoothly in the version which we read in our Breviary. Sedulius was writing a *Carmen abecedarium*, and had to make this verse begin with the letter H.

Of later " Ambrosian " hymnody Professor Phillimore gives us only *Aurora lucis rutilat* and the two grand Passion-hymns of Venantius Fortunatus : *Pange, lingua* and *Vexilla Regis*. But Irishmen owe him a word of thanks for the inclusion of two Irish-Latin hymns, *Sancti, venite* and a fine hymn for the blessing of chrism on Holy Thursday. A couple of pages further on are *Urbs beata Jerusálem* (which we, alas ! read mutilated in our Breviary) and *Ave maris stella*, fairest of all hymns to Our Lady. I could have wished for more of the anonymous hymns of this period : *Verbum supernum prodiens*, for example, or *Ad coenam Agni providi*, which priests know better as *Ad regias agni dapes*. But Professor Phillimore has his eye on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is beginning to take a short cut. Only three pages more, and we have the first of the mediaeval sequences : an Easter dialogue between Father and Son, every word borrowed directly from Holy Scripture, but so beautiful in its simplicity that it fairly takes your breath away. It was written, so the title informs us, by a monk of St. Gall in the ninth or tenth century. Even the *Victimae Paschali* (of the same century) is not more moving.

I can sympathise with Professor Phillimore's fondness for these early mediaeval sequences. It must have been a wonderful experience thus for the first time to break away from the conventions of a metrical system which had gradually lost its meaning as the sense of vowel-quantities declined, and to discover the freer melodies of rhythmical prose and verse. And how tender the melodies can be ! Of all the specimens given in this selection my favourite is beyond all doubt a piece here printed as the work of St. Peter Damian, under the title : *De Beata*

Maria Virgine. Reference to the *Analecta Hymnica* shows that the saint's authorship is more than doubtful, and I find it hard to believe that this song of a loving soul was written in the first instance about Our Lady. "Any Lover" would, to my mind, be a better title. Here is the first verse :—

Quis est hic
    Qui pulsat ad ostium,
    Noctis rumpens somnium ?
Me vocat, *O*
    Virginum pulcherrima,
Soror, coniunx,
    Gemma splendidissima,
Cito surgens
    Aperi, dulcissima.

At the sound of the Lover's voice, *Ego sum Summi Regis filius, Primus et Novissimus,* the soul rises from her couch and opens the door. But the Lover has already passed by.

Quid ergo mi—
    serrima, quid facerem ?
Lacrimando
    Sum secuta iuvenem,
Manus cuius
    Plasmaverunt hominem.

And the idyll closes with the guard of the city, who lay hands on the soul, reclothe her, and lead her with new song to the palace of the King.

That is poetry of a very high order. Even St. Peter Damian's certainly authentic *Ad perennis vitae fontem,* with its marvellous imagery and all the richness of a language more Italian than Latin, suffers by contrast. But it was a happy thought to put this anonymous love-lyric beside *Salve Regina,* which is here ascribed to Hermannus Contractus. A more famous lover soon after tried his hand as writer of hymns, and it is interesting to make the inevitable comparison. Professor Phillimore gives us six hymns from the *Liber Hymnorum* which Abélard

sent to Héloise in her convent: *soror mihi Heloisa*, so runs the dedication, *in saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima.* I must confess that I found Abélard's book, first published in full by a German Jesuit thirty-five years ago, disappointing. Only occasionally does he catch something of that lyrical fervour which must have been the reason why his earlier love-songs, now lost, were once sung by half the lovers of Europe. Hymns were apparently less to his taste. Professor Phillimore has chosen his six well—so well that it is not easy to find others which you would care to set beside them. The Easter-hymn is particularly fine, and a Vesper hymn for Saturday which begins :—

O quanta, qualia
Sunt illa sabbata,
Quae semper celebrat
Superna curia !

Abélard and Peter of Cluny are the first great names in French hymnody; but they had many successors. Bernard of Morlais is here, with *Omni die dic Mariae*; and, above all, Adam of St. Victor. I have already quoted a verse from his famous *Laudes crucis attollamus.* Hardly less famous is his hymn to Our Lady, *Ave virgo singularis.* And there is also a fine hymn to the Holy Ghost, from which I should like to quote. But, to be frank, I do not care for Adam of St. Victor: partly because he wrote so much with such alarming fluency; partly because he has destroyed an illusion. I used to think that St. Thomas Aquinas was one of the world's great masters in rhyme. Now I know that in his dogmatic hymns he is simply using a technique which had been acquired by two centuries of practice. But you might search long in the hymnody of Adam and his like without finding anywhere the glow and fervour of *Adoro te devote.* That is a true poet's hymn, and as truly the hymn of a saint. However, Professor Phillimore will think me unduly hard upon his favourite; and there is no denying that Adam of St. Victor can be

very lovely at times. Here is a verse from his hymn on the Incarnation :—

Obumbravit
Et sacravit
Partum illum
Tam tranquillum
Plenitudo gratiae,
Ut exiret
Et prodiret
Homo magnus,
Verus Agnus
Geminae substantiae.

Professor Phillimore has been so generous with his specimens of mediaeval hymnody that it may seem ungracious to blame him for an omission ; but why has he excluded *Jesu, dulcis memoria* ? The first verses, at least, claim a place in every anthology. And St. Hildegarde is almost the only representative of mediaeval German hymnody. Blessed Hermann Joseph's *Summi Reg's cor aveto* would have been a welcome surprise. It is by far the earliest hymn to the Sacred Heart—four centuries and a half before St. Margaret Mary—and was for centuries one of the most popular of mediaeval hymns. As both author and hymn are to-day almost unknown, I may be excused for quoting two characteristic verses :—

Rosa cordis, aperire,
Cuius odor fragrat mire ;
Te dignare dilatare,
Fac cor meum anhelare,
Dulcem odorem sapiat.

Ad te trahe tu cor meum,
Nec me spernas, pie, reum ;
Ut iam tibi sit vicinum,
Infer intra tuum sinum,
Ut se in te inveniat.

Of the later hymnists included in this selection (none are later than the fifteenth century) Philip de Grèves seems to me the most successful. I should like to quote from his fine meditation on death ; but space fails me. He and

his contemporaries are full of metrical devices, often amazingly successful: it is the age of *Dies irae*, *Stabat Mater* and *Ave verum corpus*. And there is an anonymous English hymn of the fourteenth century on the love of Christ, which might have been written by Shelley:—

Si mihi vis firmare
Jurato foedere
Quod nil velis amare,
Me solum quaerere,
Promitto caelum dare,
Me tibi iungere,
Cuncta bella domare,
Ut possis superare
Vires tribuere.

I could go on quoting for ever, and we have strayed far from St. Ambrose and St. Gregory. But there is one last hymn which I must quote in full, so irresistibly does it suggest the clear voices of mediaeval choristers. It was written to be sung on the Feast of the Assumption in the great monastery of Tours. I like the direct simplicity of the second verse: evidently food and wine were given to make glad the heart of these French choir-boys:—

I

Cantet omnis creatura!
Sua refert nobis iura.
Sua refert nobis iura
Virginis assumptio.
O, O
Domino
Concinat haec contio!

II

Cantet omnis creatura!
Sua refert nobis iura.
Cibi potusque mensura
Sit in hoc sollemnio.
O, O
Domino
Concinat haec contio!

III

Christo Regi demus tura,
Sua refert nobis iura.
Pio corde, mente pura,
Puro desiderio.
O, O
Domino
Concinat haec contio!

IV

Dedit suum ius Natura:
Sua refert nobis iura.
Rerum factor fit factura
Virginis in gremio.
O, O
Domino
Concinat haec contio!

Of Latin hymns written after the fifteenth century Professor Phillimore takes no account; and on the whole he has done wisely. Here and there fine hymns were written, even by Jesuits; but the old inspiration died rapidly. *O Deus, ego amo te,* might perhaps have been included; but it is, after all, only the Latin translation of a Portuguese original. One exception, however, was necessary, and I must let Professor Phillimore speak for himself:—

> One piece is altogether exceptional. *Adeste, fideles* is here included, although no trace of it can be found existing before the year 1736. It is not impossible that we have in it the remains of a mediaeval Christmas Sequence from some manuscript that was lost in the ravaging of libraries at the Reformation. If it savours of legal fiction to found a title of admission upon this mere possibility, I offer no further defence against any reader that would wish this hymn away. Why should not an editor sometimes claim a prerogative? *Adeste, fideles* had got to be included.

There is a Christmas hymn by a German Jesuit of the seventeenth century, beginning

Altitudo, quid hic iaces
In tam vili stabulo?

which might serve as proof that the old mediaeval inspiration was not yet wholly dead. But the reason matters little: *Adeste, fideles* had got to be included. Professor Phillimore, because he has had the courage boldly to follow his personal taste in all this question of selection and exclusion, has formed an anthology of Latin hymnody which will delight everyone, though it may satisfy only himself.

AUBREY GWYNN.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXXV—The Death of Ireland

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

According to Micheál Og O Longáin (R.I.A. 23 E 15, p. 160) the following poem was written in 1609. If the date is correct, it belongs to the period immediately following the Flight of the Earls, when Fear Flatha O Gnímh might well believe that Ireland was dead, and that it only remained to pray for her soul.

The text is from H. 4. 5 (T.C.D.). Corrupt versions of nine quatrains are found in 23 E 15 and 23 N 2 (R.I.A.). For copies of all three I have to thank Prof. Tadhg O'Donoghue. I have normalized the spelling. The simple style and metre of the poem unfortunately give little help in emending scribal errors.

Fear Flatha O Gnímh cct.

1. Beannacht ar anmain Eireann,
inis na gcéimeann gcorrach :
atá Treabh Briain na mbogglór
dom dhóigh ar dhobrón torrach.

2. Ionann is éag na Fódla
ceilt a córa 's a creidimh,
táire a saormhac 's a saoithe,
más fíor laoithe ná leitir.

3. Deacair nach bás don Bhanbha
d'éis an tréid chalma churadh
do thriall ar toisg don Easbáin[1]
mo thruaighe beangáin Uladh.

4. Ní leigeann eagla an ghallsmaicht
damh a hanstaid do nochtadh :
atá an chríoch réidhse ríNéill
do chrú[2] fíréin dá folcadh[3]

---

[1] cheaddáil E N. [2] chur H [3] bhfolcadh H.

5. Ní fhuil cion innte ar fhéiltibh,
ní fhuil ná ar chléircibh caingean,
ní mhaireann greann a dáimhe,
ní mhaireann náire a hainnear.

6. Atáid gan lúth gan lámhach,
mór an t-árach[1] ar Eirinn,
gan ágh gan innmhe ógán
i n-Inis fhódbhán Fhéilim.

7. Dursan milleadh na macaomh,
díorma ghlacshaor chleas ngoile :
craosól ag clódh a gcéille,
ag sin a dtréidhe oile.

8. Ní mhaireann aicme Chonaill,
dream budh rothoil i n-iomrádh,
no síol Eoghain na mbéimeann—
d'fhearaibh Eireann is iomnár.

9. Ní mhaireann acht a n-iarmhar
crú na n-iarladh ó Sheanaid
laochraidh Máighe agus Méinne
mo thruaighe gléire Gearailt.

10. Clann Charthaigh gan cheann feadhna,
mór na teadhma ré n-aithris :
ag so na síona saobha—
dobudh baoghal teacht tairis.

11. Dobudh mór an meall dearmaid
gan saoirshliocht seanBhloid d'fhaisnéis
caor rathmhar gan rún cionnta
gion go bhfuil[2] ionnta aithspéis.

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[1] tanach H. [2] *sic* EN, bhfaghthar H.

12. O Ruairc agus Mág Uidhir,
laoich nár fhuirigh[1] ó ghábhadh;
is cealgach croidhe an chriothshluagh,[2]
mo bhraon[3] diombuan a mbádhadh

13. Síol gConchubhair, rádh rodhocht,
ríoghraidh Connacht anallód,
giodh saithe saor[4] na slata,
gan ríghe[5] aca acht anshódh.

14. Sliocht Murchadha is[6] O Mórdha,
féinnidh fá cródha i ngliathaibh,
tearc aoinneach don tsíol shaoróg
'gá bhfuil aonfhód dá n-iathaibh.

15. Síol na saorchlann ó Bhéarra,
laochraidh gan éara i ndeabhaidh,
do chuir mé ar caoi mearbhaill,
O Cearbhaill is O Ceallaigh.

16. D'éag a huaisle 's a hoireacht
gan toidheacht aice ón oilbhéim,
dá lamhadh sinn a mhaoidheamh,
d'fhine Gaoidheal is oilchéim.

17. Atá ó bhéim súl[7] Balair
i dteidhm galair a[8] gealghort
a hioth[9] gan bhláth i dtalmhain
bíodh ar a hanmain beannacht.

BEANNACHT.

[1] nach fanadh H, nach (nar) sguireadh, EN. [2] chiothshluagh MSS.
[3] bhron EN. [4] saoithe saora H. [5] Rígh H. [6] agus H.
[7] Atá bansúl H. [8] an H. [9] nioth H.

Translation

1. A blessing upon the soul of Ireland, island of the faltering steps; methinks Brian's Home[1] of the soft voices is pregnant with sorrow.
2. The same as the death of Fódla is the suppression of her right and her faith, the degradation of her free sons and her scholars, if lays or letters[2] are true.
3. It were hard for Banbha not to die after that gallant company of champions who went journeying to Spain[3]—alas for the princes of Ulster!
4. Fear of the foreign law does not permit me to tell her sore plight; this smooth land of royal Niall is being washed with innocent blood.
5. In her is no love of feast-days, no, nor no recourse to the clergy: the mirth of her bardic companies is no more, the modesty of her maids is no more.
6. They are without activity or casting, a hard bondage (?) for Ireland, without success or wealth of warriors in Féilim's white-sodded Isle.[1]
7. Alas for the ruin of the youths, a noble-handed troop of valorous feats: hard drinking subdues their sense, that is the characteristic of all.
8. The race of Conall[4] is no more, a company that was most eager for fame, nor the seed of Eoghan[5] of the strokes—to the men of Ireland it is a disgrace.
9. Only a remnant remains of the blood of the earls from Seanaid, the warriors of the Maigue and of Méin[6]—alas for the flower of the Geraldines.
10. The MacCarthys without a leader—great are the pains to tell—here are the cruel storms—it were perilous to mention it.
11. It were a great mass of forgetfulness not to tell of ancient Blod's noble stock[7], triumphant heroes[8] free from evil instincts, though esteem for them returns no more.
12. O Ruairc and Maguidhir, warriors who never shirked danger—treacherous is the heart of the trembling host—the overwhelming of them is to me but a passing drop (?)[9].
13. The O'Connors—a hard saying—Kings of Connacht of old, though the princes are a noble gathering, they have no kingdom but misfortune.
14. The race of Murchadh, and O'More, a champion who was valiant in battles—rare is one of that noble young race that holds a single sod of their lands.
15. The seed of the nobles from Béarra, warriors who refused no fight, have bewildered my path (they and) O'Carrol and O'Kelly.
16. That owing to the death of her nobility and her courts she cannot recover from the stigma, if we dared to proclaim it, it is an infamy to the race of the Gael.
17. By the evil eye of Balar[10] her fair cornfield is blighted, her corn is without blossom on the ground—a blessing be upon her soul!

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] A bardic name for Ireland.
[2] "Lay or letter" is a common phrase for "documentary evidence."
[3] Perhaps the true reading is *Eaddil* "Italy."
[4] The O'Donnells, etc.
[5] The O'Neills, etc.
[6] Mayne, bar. of Glenquin, Co. Limerick.
[7] The O'Briens, etc.
[8] lit. "a mass of molten metal."
[9] Text obscure and probably corrupt.
[10] For Balar the Fomorian and his evil eye see *Revue Celtique* xii. 100.

A GREAT IRISH INDUSTRY

Messrs. Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd.

BY ANDREW E. MALONE

I—The History of the Industry

WHEN one firm in any particular branch of industry is more successful than all others engaged in that industry it is customary for the less successful ones to ascribe success to some material advantage which is not at the disposal of all in equal measure. Such common things as intelligence, energy, and business ability are supposed to be possessed by all equally, and therefore it becomes necessary to discover some material object, possessed by the successful only, which is the cause of success. In the case of Messrs. Guinness the popular belief is that the firm has discovered and keeps jealously guarded in its own exclusive possession a water supply which is ideal for the manufacture of stout and porter. Of course this is not believed by other Irish brewers, who are aware that they can have the same water as Guinness; but then it is necessary to ascribe the extraordinary success of Guinness to something which that firm alone possesses, so they too accept the water excuse in the absence of any definite statement of the real reason. It may be of some interest to state that the success of the original London "porter" was ascribed to the peculiar properties of Thames water; and the brewers of Burton-on-Trent are now supposed to have

a similar advantage in the brewing of ale and beer. The whole idea of the superiority of water at the disposal of any particular firm is absurd; the same water is at the disposal of other brewers, and the wonderful success of the firm of Guinness must be traced to other causes.

The firm of Guinness has become so famous for its stout and porter that when an Englishman desires stout he asks for "Guinness." The use of the name of the firm to designate its products would lead one to suspect that Messrs. Guinness were the originators of the beverages they manufacture, but such is not the case. Neither stout nor porter is in fact of Irish origin; both seem to have originated in London. In the early part of the 18th century London was famous for its porter, which about that time seems to have become popular as a beverage. It is said to have originated in a rather curious way. The popular beverages up to that time were ale, beer, and "two-penny," and it was quite common for a customer to ask for "three threads," meaning a mixture of the three, something in the nature of an early and rather primitive cocktail. To supply this mixture involved drawing from three separate casks, and an ingenious gentleman named Harwood concocted a liquid composed of the three ingredients which he called "porter." The way in which the liquid was discovered would suggest that the gentlemen in O. Henry's well-known story had a previous existence two hundred years ago. Harwood's concoction became very popular, and London porter took the place of the other beverages in the esteem of beer drinkers. Nowadays, when we think of England as an ale drinking country and Ireland as a place where porter is mainly consumed, it is well to remember that two centuries ago the positions were exactly the reverse.

Ale, however, was drunk but little in Ireland in the 18th century; the popular alcoholic drink at that time was whiskey. "The gentry preferred wine," says Mr.

D. A. Chart, "and the middle classes seem to have been partial to rum. But the manufacture of whiskey was as yet a very simple process and seems to have formed part of the ordinary housewifery of the day, as the making of 'wines' from cowslips and rhubarb is to this day in rural England. However, unfortunately, the fiery spirit was not so innocuous in its effects as the vegetable decoctions just mentioned. The authorities, seeking an object of taxation, fastened on this increasingly popular and, as they thought, extremely deleterious intoxicant and imposed heavy duties and exacting excise regulations. Accordingly in the towns, at all events, distilling ceased to be a household practice, and was conducted in large establishments. But in the country districts the law could not be so readily enforced. The result was a great prevalence of illicit distilling, which for long defied all attempts to suppress it, and indeed will probably never be wholly extinct."[1] It was not until near the end of the 18th century that the effects of taxation began to manifest themselves in favour of brewing as against distilling.

The progress of the brewing industry in Ireland during the 18th century was very much hampered by English legislation affecting hops. "In 1720 the drawback which had previously been given on English hops exported to Ireland was discontinued," says Dr. George O'Brien. "No doubt as a result of this, the Irish brewers began to import more hops from foreign countries, but this practice was stopped in 1731 by an Act which provided that no hops should be imported into Ireland except from Great Britain. The result of this Act was to give the English hop farmer the monopoly of the Irish market, as the growing of hops in Ireland was found to be impracticable, in spite of much encouragement from the Dublin Society, partly owing to the lack of capital in the country, and partly because of the shortage of timber caused by the

[1] *Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation*, p. 24.

improvident dealing of Irish landlords with their woods. The English brewer, moreover, was enabled to flood the Irish market with his produce, as the import duty on British beer into Ireland was only ten per cent., whereas the duty on Irish beer imported into England was so high as to amount to a prohibition."[1] In 1791 all the old regulations which hampered the development of brewing were repealed and a new code, much more liberal in its scope, was substituted. The price of ale was fixed at not more than six shillings a barrel for small ale, and not less than eleven shillings and sixpence a barrel for strong ale. The retail price of small ale was fixed at one penny a quart. About the same time foreign hops were admitted into Ireland at a duty of only a penny a pound above the duty payable upon British hops when hops went above a certain price. To balance this the duties on malt were increased steadily, and in 1795 the excise duties on ale were taken off altogether. This gave the brewing industry its great chance against its strong rival the distillery.

While all the restrictions were in full operation the Guinness family was brewing beer in a very small way in the village of Leixlip, some miles outside Dublin. In 1756 they were still brewing there, and one Mark Rainsford, whose name is still commemorated in one of the streets which pass through the present premises of Messrs. Guinness, carried on a little brewery at Saint James's Gate. In neither case was the business in a flourishing condition. In fact the Dublin brewing industry was as a whole in a very bad state. In 1773 a Committee was appointed by the Irish House of Commons to enquire into a petition which had been presented by the Dublin Corporation of Brewers, and the Report of this Committee contains very valuable information on the state of the brewing industry in Dublin at that time. The evidence presented to the Committee was to the effect that the

[1] *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th Century*, p. 210.

brewers generally were doing very badly indeed, and that many of them would give up their business if they could sell their breweries at their original cost. Within the memory of one of the witnesses, a Mr. George Thwaites, Master of the Dublin Corporation of Brewers, the number of breweries in Dublin had decreased from seventy to thirty. He was of the opinion that a quarter of the brewers had failed in business during the ten years from 1763 to 1773, and as the brewers were unable to increase their prices owing to the competition of English brewers they were compelled to reduce the quantity of malt and hops in the liquor they sold. Their beer was therefore less nourishing and less palatable than that of their competitors. Meanwhile the importation of English beer was increasing. Mr. Arthur Guinness told the Committee that he had intended to start brewing at Carnarvon or Holyhead if he could get a brewery ready built at either place. He had actually been to Wales in search of a brewery. At the time he had been prepared to settle in Wales and build a brewery there if he had been assured that the laws would remain as they were for seven years. Instead of settling in Wales, Arthur Guinness took over from Mark Rainsford, in 1759, "a dwelling-house, a brewhouse, two malt-houses and stables" at Saint James's Gate, Dublin, and there nineteen years later began to brew porter as it was being brewed in London. The trade of the Dublin brewers was being ruined by the London brew, which caught the popular taste, and it was but fitting that a Dublin brewer should try to compete with the Londoners on their own chosen ground. Dublin brewers had been deterred by the suggestion that the water of the Thames was necessary for the proper concoction of London porter. Arthur Guinness was not deterred, and that spirit of enterprise which characterised him has been the animating spirit of the brewery ever since. And how the position has been reversed! Now London brewers are vainly trying

to imitate the products of Guinness. Where Arthur Guinness led, other Dublin brewers followed, and the imitative venture prospered so well that the importation from England gradually dwindled, and in the early years of the 19th century ceased altogether.

It was a very fortunate thing for the city of Dublin that Arthur Guinness failed to secure a brewery in Wales in the middle of the 18th century, as it was also fortunate that the brewery at Manchester in the 20th century failed to materialise. The family of Guinness stayed in Dublin, and by the middle of the seventeen-nineties its porter had begun to obtain recognition in Dublin. The family was unduly prominent in its opposition to the United Irishmen and to Daniel O'Connell. The product of the brewery became known as "Guinness's black protestant porter," and a popular boycott was suggested. The suggestion of a boycott has since been many times renewed for different reasons, and once it was practised and defeated by the firm. The suggestion of the boycott so frightened the proprietors of the brewery that an export trade to England was entered upon, and Dublin stout and porter began its career in the English market. The export trade prospered, and in the intervening hundred years has grown so tremendously that it has beaten the English brewers on their own ground with the liquor they themselves originated. In 1797 the brewery sold in all 12,000 barrels of porter and made a profit of £6,000. In 1803 the founder of the firm died leaving only a few thousand pounds.

In 1833 steam engines were first used in the brewing industry in Dublin, probably the first time that steam engines were used in the brewing industry anywhere, and the "old" brewery at Saint James's Gate began to look as it looks even to this day. Its antique appearance is very carefully preserved by the firm despite the continuous introduction of improvements in the plant and variations in the process of brewing. To-day the visitor can observe

the plan and the lay-out of that old brewery, and by a comparison with the " new " brewery across the brewery yard may see what changes have been made in the planning and processes of a brewery in the course of nearly a century and three quarters. During the first half of the nineteenth century the business grew steadily without any sensational expansion at any time. In 1855 Arthur Guinness, the son of the founder of the brewery, died and left a fortune of £180,000, which in itself indicates the steady growth in the prosperity of the business. When Sir Benjamin Guinness, grandson of the founder, died thirteen years later, in 1868, he was worth £1,100,000. In the hundred years between 1814 and 1914 the sales of the brewery had grown from little over seventy thousand barrels to over three and a quarter million barrels. The great growth in the business took place between 1860 and 1900. During these forty years the business was transformed and expanded beyond all recognition.

It was about 1870 that the three men whose names must be ever inseparably connected with the growth of the brewery first came together. They are Sir Ernest Cecil Guinness (Earl of Iveagh), Christopher Digges La Touche and Samuel Geoghegan. The first was, and is, a financier and an organiser of genius; the second was a brewer of the new scientific kind and also a great organiser; and the third was an industrial engineer who was one of the first of his kind. Two of them are now dead; they have had no part in the direction of the brewery for many years, but the great organisation they created and perfected is to-day practically as they left it. They were so very much in advance of their time that their achievement has passed almost unnoticed. Were they doing to-day what they did fifty years ago they would be classed with Henry Ford and his like in the front rank of great industrial organisers. At a time when industrial organisers are thought so much of as

they are to-day these three men would dominate any assembly in which they had a place. Before W. F. Taylor had even thought of scientific management, and before Henry Ford had applied the principle of mass production to industry, these three men were practising both in Dublin. The entire brewery was overhauled, its machinery was brought up to the highest possible standard, much in advance of the standard to be found in other breweries, labour-saving devices of every possible kind were specially invented by Samuel Geoghegan and installed under his own supervision and control. The entire business was organised in a series of Departments, and based upon that system the business has further grown and expanded. In the latter half of the last century departmentalisation was still something of a novelty in business organisation, and the departmentalisation of the Guinness organisation was the labour of many years. In its method, as in its completeness, it is still something of a wonder, and if the firm desired to shout about itself, as it certainly does not, it would have something to say that would be worthy of attention from other Irish manufacturers.

When the firm of Guinness set out to capture the porter trade of Ireland from the London brewers it did something that Irish manufacturers in general would do well to imitate. First had to be studied the liquor which had become so popular; then had to be discovered how exactly it was made. These two discoveries having been made in due time, there still remained to be discovered how to make and to market porter better and more cheaply than the London brewers. That is the great secret of Guinness, the only great secret that the firm ever had. It has no secret in water, no secret in the processes of manufacture, no secret in plant; all these are at the service of other brewers equally with Guinness. What is not at the service of other brewers is the way all these things are used. Quality in the article marketed,

efficiency and economy in manufacture and sale, these are the guiding points in the Guinness policy, as they should be in the policy of any manufacturer who deserves and not merely desires, to succeed in business. The consumer must be given just what he desires at a price which he can afford to pay for it, and he must be given the very best quality that can be given at the lowest possible price. That is now supposed to be the exclusive contribution of American manufacturers to the modern world, but it has been the Guinness policy for nearly a century. The basis of the success of Messrs. Guinness is standardisation of the quality of the article produced, a high standard which is consistently maintained. The firm has made its name synonymous with quality in stout and porter, as other Irish firms have made their names synonymous with quality in other things, and American firms try to reverse the process by getting their names known first through the medium of advertising. The American way may be the quicker way, but it may be doubted that it is the most durable in the long run.

Only malt, hops, and water are used in the brewing process. Nothing else ever was used by Messrs. Guinness except for a short period during the war when substitutes were used under governmental compulsion. The process of brewing is complex and elaborate, but as practised by Messrs. Guinness it seems almost too simple for description. Behind the apparent simplicity there is an experimental organisation which is probably unique in modern industry. At all times there is experiment; with machinery, with materials, with the mixing of the ingredients, with temperatures, with the finished product to test its storage capacity, and with every other aspect of the business. Plots were maintained in which experiments were made with barley, so that Irish barley might be improved and rendered more suitable for the work of the brewery. The experimental organisation consists of a series of laboratories for the ordinary day

to day work of analysing barley, malt, hops, yeast, water, and finished stout and porter. From the figures obtained in the tests the brewing is made and the gravity and acidity of the stout are kept without variation. Upon the basis of the laboratory figures the mixtures of malts to give a uniform extract are made, and the material is brought to the actual brewing process only after the whole thing has been built up from the laboratory figures. In the laboratories of the Research Department other tests are made which are calculated to have more far-reaching and more permanent effects upon either plant or material or process. For example experiments made with model mills proved that malt when ground in one kind of mill gave a higher extract than malt ground in another kind. The results of that series of experiments brought about a change in the entire milling installation of the brewery. Then there is a complete experimental brewery in which a very small quantity of materials may be converted into the finished liquor under actual brewing conditions. In this experimental brewery was discovered an alternative to stout and porter if at any time circumstances, or alteration in the public taste, should make an alternative liquor necessary. Messrs. Guinness are ready and waiting for any such change, in fact they were ready twenty years ago. An experimental malt-house completes the equipment. In this all tests connected with the changes effected in barley by malting are made, and many modifications in the process of malting have resulted from them. All the brewers have had a scientific training (there is a connection between the brewery and the School of Brewing at the University of Birmingham), and in addition there is a staff of chemists who are not brewers primarily. There is nothing to be found in the most complete breweries in the world which is not chronicled in the files and in the reports of the laboratories at Saint James's Gate. Delegations go abroad frequently to see

the latest in brewing plant and practice which otherwise might escape notice; there is always at least one such delegation abroad.

In marketing, the same thorough efficiency may be observed. When other breweries were tying up their capital in a system of tied-houses, Messrs. Guinness issued the copyright trade-mark label, by which they obtained all the advantages of the tied-house without any of the worries or inconveniences. The public saw that the label was issued to save it from the more unscrupulous trader, and patronised the house where the label was on show. This response on the part of the public made it possible for the brewery to pick and choose its customers with great care, and any infringement of the conditions imposed led to the withdrawal of supplies. This also made it possible to reduce the accountancy work at the brewery to something approaching the automatic routine of a perfect machine. There are conditions for everything, and the conditions can be enforced because the withdrawal of supplies would be disastrous to the customer affected. So is everything arranged that any breach of the conditions leads to punishment, and the supreme punishment, withdrawal of supplies, amounts to driving the offender out of the trade. At least so the trader fears, and it is his fear that is the strength of the Guinness label system. The label was a stroke of genius at the time it was introduced, but its introduction was not unattended with considerable risk. Its introduction did produce a boycott, which was however easily defeated. Lord Iveagh and the late C. D. La Touche were willing to take the risk, and they won. There is now no need to advertise. When an Englishman was asked recently to name something Irish which was generally known outside Ireland, he replied without hesitation, "The Guinness Label."

In 1886 the firm was converted into a Limited Liability Company with a capital of £5,000,000. The flotation of

the Company was a great stroke of business for the banking house of Baring, which shortly afterwards had to be rescued from its perilous South American dealings by the Bank of England. Since the formation of the company the house of Baring has had a representative on the Board of the Brewery in the person of Lord Revelstoke. Later the capital was increased by the creation of Preference Shares to the value of £2,000,000, and in 1923 Bonus Shares to the value of £2,500,000 were allotted to shareholders in the proportion of one to two ordinary shares. The total capital is therefore now £9,500,000. Since 1886 the number of persons employed has quadrupled, from little over 1,000 to over 4,000, and the output of the brewery has increased in greater ratio. During the years of the war there was some curtailment of output; but the increases in the beer and other duties, which made increases in retail prices imperative, had the somewhat peculiar effect of making the profits of the brewer disproportionately large. Before the war the average profits since the beginning of the century amounted to about £1,000,000 per annum, with an average dividend of about 15 per cent. Since the end of the war, despite the increase of capital amounting to £2,500,000, the average dividend has been about 25 per cent. This change has not been brought about at the expense of the workers, because they have shared in the affluence of the Company. It has been brought about entirely by the high retail prices which have been in turn kept up by taxation. It is one of the humours of taxation that every increase in excise duty leads to higher profits for traders. It is surely within the competence of Finance Ministers and taxing authorities to devise a tax that, while paying its due to the national exchequer, need not involve increasing profits to manufacturers and retailers.

The figures relating to Messrs. Guinness since the end of the war may be of interest, and may provide useful

information for the study of industrial prosperity in connection with the vagaries of taxation. They are :—

Year	Gross Profits	Net Profits	Reserve Fund	Carried Forward	Dividend
	£	£	£	£	per cent.
1919	5,858,854	2,175,815	250,000	192,549	16
1920	12,941,420	3,363,092	650,000	297,934	20
1921	18,187,514	3,729,803	484,407	254,812	25
1922	14,570,320	2,925,754	200,000	702,287	29
1923	13,759,584	2,730,023	200,000	594,197	24
1924	12,528,137	3,311,925	200,000	713,822	26
1925	13,220,814	3,888,386	400,000	832,917	32
1926		3,468,211	200,000	731,837	32

The annual output of the brewery is between one-and-three-quarters and two million hogsheads, of which one-half is exported to Britain and Northern Ireland. Before the separation of Irish Governments about one-third of the annual output was classed as exported. The war prevented the development of what might have become a big trade with the Continent; that trade is now being undertaken again and it is probable that the office in Brussells may be reopened.

This article will be followed by others dealing with Organisation, Executive Authority, and Labour Policy, so that the entire system which has built up a great industrial concern may be studied by other Irish manufacturers and by those interested in industrial organisation.

ANDREW E. MALONE.

LABOUR IN IRELAND AND BELGIUM

BY REV. JOHN KELLEHER, S.T.L.
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Le Parti Ouvrier Belge, 1885-1925. Par Emile Vandervelde. Bruxelles: L'Eglantine. 1925. 20 fr.

Labour and Nationalism in Ireland. By J. Dunsmore Clarkson, Ph.D. New York: Longmans; London: King. 1925. pp. 502. 18s.

THE Labour Party of Belgium is fortunate in its apologist. M. Vandervelde writes of it from the inside. All his life he has been actively associated with it; he has ever been in its most intimate councils, and has shared responsibility for some of its most critical decisions. The result is a study which is a masterpiece of clearness and thoroughness. It not only puts before us the structure of the Labour Party, but it shows us as it were the architect's conceptions and plans. Of course he is sympathetic with the most perfect sympathy of a man for the creature of his own brain and activities. He is biased also in the sense that everything he touches is viewed solely through Labour eyes. Yet, however much sympathy and bias may colour his estimate of the worth of the Labour Party's achievements or prospects, they never betray him into representing it other than it is. He is too experienced and capable a writer to err unconsciously, and he is too fully convinced of the strength of his position to be tempted to misrepresent it deliberately.

Le Parti Ouvrier Belge sets forth clearly the constitution and working of the entire labour organisation, enabling us to see how the Labour Party transcends the various autonomous units—co-operative, educational, political, benevolent, etc.—from which it has its existence and support, and which in turn it inspires, fosters and

indirectly governs. In this respect the Labour Party is a marvel of careful balancing of autonomy and centralisation. Its purpose is to unite the entire working population of Belgium in one great class movement separately organised for every department of industrial, economic, and social life. These organisations, autonomous in their several spheres, are combined to maintain a great political Labour force. M. Vandervelde tells how this has been done. On the whole his is a story of progress. Sometimes he has to tell of comparative failure and reaction. But when one remembers how small and weak was the beginning and what was the condition of Belgium during the European war, the amount achieved appears remarkable indeed. What no one can help noticing and admiring is the practical and constructive policy of Belgian Labour.

Although even in this book there is a good deal of insistence on the class struggle and socialist ideals, it is evident that for Belgian Labour the class struggle does not mean merely an interminable round of conflicts between Labour and Capital, where Labour stakes all in a decisive victory and devotes all its resources to that purpose. Such a conflict is not lost sight of, but in actual practice it plays a distinctly minor part. The main effort is directed towards making the best of the opportunities that lie to hand, principally through co-operation, both for production and consumption. In this way large sums of money, which might otherwise be dissipated in industrial conflicts, are invested in co-operative enterprises—stores and factories—every one of which in its own degree improves the economic status of Labour, and so marks a stage of progress in the class struggle.

Similarly socialist principles and ideals are constantly professed and duly honoured, yet in such a theoretic way as not to prevent the party from realising the existing conditions, and shaping its policy always with a view to the best practical results.

It is too soon yet to venture to prophesy anything

about the future of the Belgian Labour Party. It is certain that it has yet to face its most trying crises. It may be that the very elaborateness of its machinery may ultimately prove its undoing. M. Vandervelde has no delusion about the masses of the workers he has to deal with; he realises that they are quite indifferent to social or economic ideals, but that it is always possible for a select enthusiastic few to lead and direct them. Certainly he and his associates have skilfully contrived means for winning and securing their support. The great weakness of their position is that they stake their existence on the continuance of that support, which of its very nature is inconstant and liable to extreme fluctuations. With such an insecure foundation, there is great danger in linking up the co-operative movement with a political party. Co-operation appears to be too delicate an instrument to stand a severe political strain. Dissensions are inseparable from the life of political parties, and dissensions would wreck the entire co-operative enterprise.

One wonders too, whether the prominence given to the class struggle and socialist doctrines, which up to the present may have proved of service as a driving force, may not turn out to be a cause of serious trouble when the Labour Party comes to assume serious responsibilities, as it must soon if it continues its present rate of progress. Then it may find it inconvenient to be expected to give effect to all that it had hitherto been demanding. Of its very nature the class struggle is ever pressing for more, and it may continue to press on the Labour Party itself when that Party comes into power and finds itself unable to give all it had been previously asking for.

Then also its professions of socialism may have disastrous reactions. The Labour Party has wisely refused to allow its socialist professions to stand in the way of practical achievement, but there is in Belgium a volume of socialist thought, by no means negligible, which is vigorously opposed to this policy, denouncing it as a

betrayal of genuine socialism. The opposition from extreme socialists is innocuous enough as long as the Labour Party is able to justify its policy by practical results; but when the expected results cease to be forthcoming, the extremists will be in a very favourable position to press home the point that the compromising policy of the Labour Party was only half-baked socialism, and all the laudations of socialism may be successfully turned against them.

M. Vandervelde has concentrated attention so successfully on the extent and actual achievements of Co-operation that one is in danger of overlooking the fact that even still Co-operation is only a very small feature of economic life in Belgium. The background remains solidly capitalistic. Hitherto all the success that has attended the Co-operative movement appears to be due to the fact that it is a means of reforming the abuses of Capitalism. How it would succeed as a substitute for Capitalism is a different question altogether, which it is not possible to go into here. Many considerations lead us to suspect that at best it would prove precarious and unsatisfactory. The extreme socialists have really good grounds for the contention that it is impossible to displace Capitalism by the methods of the Belgian Labour Party. That is not necessarily a fault in these methods; for it may not be possible or even desirable to displace Capitalism at present. It may be sufficient to reform it, as the Labour Party is doing with such happy results. The trouble is that the Labour Party is not satisfied to aim at reform, and thus the means and methods which might be adequate for that purpose may fail because they are directed towards an end which is altogether beyond their capacity.

Whatever the future may have in store for the Belgian Labour Party, it is a pleasure to contemplate all it has accomplished already, and although one cannot be blind to the very critical dangers which lie before it, there is

reason to hope that the wise practical councils which have so far directed it, will not fail it in situations which are certain to be far more trying.

It would be difficult to imagine a more complete contrast to *Le Parti Ouvrier Belge* than *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland.* M. Vandervelde approaches his subject from the inside. Mr. Clarkson approaches his from the outside, and remains on the outside all through. He has no connection with Irish Labour, and apparently no interest in it as such. His sole purpose is to produce a "Study," which he does in the form of a bulky volume of 502 pages.

Regarded even as a "Study," this work cannot be said to form a valuable contribution to social science. In the preface we are told that "the present work is intended, not so much as an addition to the already voluminous but regrettably piecemeal literature of Irish History, as to afford a sidelight on the inter-relations of two world forces"—*i.e.*, Labour and Nationalism. That is an absolutely misleading description. Nowhere is there any attempt to interpret the inspiring forces behind either Labour or Nationalism in Ireland. Referring to the Church's influence, he rightly remarks: "Unless that germ [of the Church] be isolated there can be no scientific discussion of its influence on the labour movement" (p. 32). Yet nowhere has he tried to isolate the germ of Labour or Nationalism.

Of the latter he simply gives us disjointed and strangely unbalanced accounts of various attempts to win Irish independence. There is not even a pretence to grasp the principle of Nationalism behind them all—if indeed it is assumed that any such principle was really to be found behind them. Similarly, Labour is used vaguely and indiscriminately for every organised opposition to existing industrial conditions, no matter what the source and spirit of the opposition—whether it came from below, *i.e.*, from labour properly so called, as a spontaneous

reaction against oppression and the natural defence of its own most vital interests, or from above, inspired by social theories, or from what appears to be on the part of some a settled antagonism to settled order.

The book itself affords ample evidence that Mr. Clarkson worked hard in preparation for it, and made himself widely acquainted with the sources and literature of his subject. In spite of his impressive bibliography, however, and extensive quotations, to persons who have lived through the phases to which he devotes the greatest attention and who have grown up in the living traditions of all the struggles in connection with Labour and Nationalism which have passed over the country, it is obvious that he is only a stranger, an explorer as it were, fresh perhaps and unbiased, but manifestly blind to values and relative importance. Even in his bibliography, complete as it appears to be, there are notable and significant omissions—*e.g.*, *The Nationist*, *The Leader*, and everything connected with the language preservation and revival, although anyone in the country, friend or foe of Irish Nationalism, could tell him that the language movement was intimately connected with the most recent and determined manifestation of Irish Nationalism. Indeed opponents of the language would tell him that it was chiefly responsible for what they would regard as the disastrous consequences of Nationalism in recent times.

In the text of the book there are abundant and extensive quotations. But in a serious study one would expect to be given some appreciation of the authorities. Writing of the theory of Difference, which he contemptuously rejects, Mr. Clarkson remarks : " Statements of employers, observations of travellers, fulminations of judges, prize essays, and anonymous pamphlets are hardly the type of evidence on which to base generalisations about the activities of organisations " (p. 26). Yet a great part of his own book is taken up with rhetorical extracts from

propaganda literature of all classes, leading articles, resolutions, amendment speeches, letters, anonymous contributions, etc. From sources of this kind one may be able to throw valuable light on many a vexed historical question. But surely not until they have been carefully examined and appreciated. Lump quotations are worse than useless. If one were to search the files of different newspapers and magazines in any country, it would be merely a matter of time and industry to collect quotations to support any view or impression one wished to convey. Mr. George Russell's Open Letter, for instance, may be a fine piece of literature, and may have its proper place in a literary collection as a specimen of scathing invective ; but it is not of much value in a study of Labour and Nationalism. Yet it is given in all its fulness, occupying a page and a half of the book, with a footnote to identify the object of one of its most stinging lashes.

That footnote is typical. One gathers the impression that the intensive study of propaganda and controversial literature has left an impress on Mr. Clarkson's taste and style. Nowhere is there a trace of judicial restraint such as should naturally be expected in a serious study. With very few exceptions, every outstanding figure from Daniel O'Connell down to the public men at present prominent in the Saorstát, Northern Ireland and England, is dismissed with a scornful contempt which, if not always elegantly expressed, gives the appearance of being carefully studied—and it must be admitted that he shows no political partiality in this respect.

Apparently on the principle that whatever is is wrong, Mr. Clarkson's sympathies are always on the side of violence and revolution. For him nothing succeeds like failure. In that spirit Mr. James Larkin is ushered on the scene like a Homeric hero. He has been the stormy petrel of Irish Labour from 1907 to the present day. He has been against everything in turn, and so Mr. Clarkson is always sympathetic towards him. There is a sort

of superficial grandeur about hopeless attempts to break down oppression. But the grandeur is really only superficial, because being hopeless the attempts naturally recoil on the victims themselves. From Mr. Clarkson's reading it would appear as if even "unconditional surrender" were to be laid to Mr. Larkin's credit as an additional glory and further proof of his great generalship.

The contrast between the story of Labour in Belgium as told by M. Vandervelde and that of Labour in Ireland as represented by Mr. Clarkson is depressing for Irish readers. The closing chapter of Mr. Clarkson's book, "Labour and the Free State," leaves the impression that the entire Labour Movement in Ireland has been sound and fury, which has accomplished little of permanent value. All the fine conceptions, wise and courageous leadership, and grim endurance have ended in just the dismal conditions there pourtrayed with substantial accuracy. Now Labour cannot have it both ways. It has been active for a considerable number of years, and if this is all it can point to there must be something wrong with it somewhere. It cannot claim to be an effective force during these years, and yet refuse to share responsibility for the conditions which now prevail. If conditions of wages, housing, and unemployment are as deplorable as the spokesmen of Labour are accustomed to depict them, they may well ask themselves what organised Labour *has done* to make them different. It may be said that it *would have done* a great deal had it not been prevented by forces of reaction which proved too strong for it. That may help to excuse the past, but it cannot serve as an excuse for continuing along lines of semi-futility in the future. If labour organisation is to justify its existence at all, it must be by what it *does*, not by what it *would do*. It must take account of the nature and strength of the forces of reaction, and shape its own course so as to be effective in spite of them.

Irish Labour had two besetting sins in the past which

combined to sterilise its activities—foreign entanglements and class consciousness. No sooner had it succeeded in establishing a limited independence of English domination than off it went into international associations. While it might not unreasonably be held that the English connection might be of substantial service to Irish Labour itself, it is hard to see anything to justify the international affiliation. How does it or how can it do anything for the rank and file of Irish workers? What can these proposals and programmes, so solemnly discussed in Continental cities, do to relieve underpayment and unemployment in Ireland? On the one hand they tend to dissipate the energies of our Labour leaders and to keep them pre-occupied with fine theories and world schemes to the detriment of humbler if more practical labour problems at home, and on the other hand they create a distrust for Labour organisation amongst ordinary Irishmen who do not wish to see our country brought under the influence of international socialism.

The over emphasis on class consciousness is scarcely less detrimental to the practical efficiency of organised labour in Ireland. By its professed determination to make itself supreme, labour tends to unite all other interests in opposition. As long as labour appeals to sheer force it is only to be expected that it will be met by sheer force on the other side. It is easy to understand and to sympathise with this attitude of labour. Nevertheless it is a tragic mistake. When an appeal is made to the sword, one must be prepared to abide by the arbitrement of the sword. It is no longer a question of what one is justly entitled to, but what one can exact. And it should be evident now that labour cannot win along these lines at least in Ireland, whatever may be possible in highly industrialised countries like England. By its insistence on the class struggle, labour is doing its best to justify the reactionary defence of the worst abuses in the present position.

The great tragedy is that labour, in thus allowing itself to be lured into a class struggle, is abandoning a very strong position—the position of its equitable claims as part of the body politic which constitutes the nation. If instead of playing the game of its enemies by emphasising the conflict of interests amongst the classes, it insisted on their identity and on the duty of all to aim at the welfare of the Commonwealth, with the corresponding prerogative of all to share in the Commonwealth's prosperity, it would be on the way to put up an unanswerable case for amelioration in the workers' position. Labour might learn an instructive lesson from the manner in which the Irish farmers were lifted up in the struggle for Irish independence, by having their interests identified with the interests of the country in general. There would appear to be a favourable opportunity coming for Irish labour to be lifted up in the process of building and developing our independent nation. We really cannot have a strong healthy Irish nation until our working classes are lifted far above the position they hold at present. The trouble is that there are many strong interests in Ireland at present which do not want to build up and develop a healthy Irish nation. They much prefer to see us as we are, a loose aggregate of conflicting groups which can be successfully controlled by irresponsible finance. The present labour members in the Dáil are not wanting in a sense of true Nationalism; they have shown too that they, perhaps more than any other group, understand at least in theory the importance of national solidarity. They have now a promising prospect for promoting a close working alliance between Labour and Nationalism.

J. Kelleher.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE

BY PATRICK J. GANNON, S.J.

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Science and Scientists in the Nineteenth Century. By Rev. Robert H. Murray, Litt.D. (Sheldon Press. 1925. 12s. 6d.).

The Everlasting Man. By G. K. Chesterton. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1925. 12s. 6d.).

Science, Religion and Reality. Edited by Joseph Needham. (Sheldon Press. 1925. 12s. 6d.).

The Reminiscences of a Maynooth Professor. By Walter McDonald. (Cape. 1925. 18s.).

Les Confins de la Science et de la Foi. Par l'Abbé Th. Moreux. Deux tomes. (Gaston Doin. 1925-1926. 7 fr. et 10 fr.).

WE hear less now-a-days about the conflict between religion and science. This may be partly due to prudential reasons. The consequences of undermining the faith of the millions are with us in such political, social and moral disorders as have startled the prophets of unbelief. The results, above all in Russia, are instructive and have driven serious thinkers back to a reconsideration of many accepted hypotheses. Hence, even if intellectual difficulties continue to exist, they are less paraded before the eyes of the multitude. Such agnosticism as survives has largely lost its aggressive character; and something of what I may call the Locarno spirit has settled down upon the intellectual as on the political arena.

But this is far from being a complete explanation. There is more than a recoil from practical consequences

in the change that has taken place. Even before the Great War signs were not wanting that men in general were growing weary of negation. The mystery of life persisted, nay, was only rendered more bewildering by the growth of knowledge. And it was increasingly realised that certain faculties, aspirations, hopes and fears of humanity were too fundamental to be eradicated; too vast to be satisfied by the mere progress of mechanical invention or the spread of material well-being. *Post equitem sedet atra cura.* It is as true to-day of the aeronaut as it was of the Roman cavalier in the age of Horace. Man's soul persistently protests against the denial of its existence. There was bound to be a reaction against the materialistic monism of the nineteenth century; and that reaction has now carried us to a stage where a false spiritualism is a greater danger than the materialism which lingers, indeed, in certain quarters, but (to use Mr. Chesterton's words) "as an atmosphere in which men live rather than as a thesis which they defend."

The books indicated at the head of this article afford sufficient basis for an attempt to analyse the tendencies of modern thought on the greatest of all questions. To suppose that they, or many more like them, will decide the issue would be childishly sanguine. But they do show that the trend of opinion is distinctly away from the hasty and shallow scepticism of Victorian days. Science, while enlarging enormously its area of conquest, has also become increasingly conscious of the limits of its possible achievements. It has acquired that virtue which is not uncommonly the fruit of experience—humility.

Dr. Murray's work is primarily a history of science and scientific progress in the nineteenth century. It has great human interest as giving us a sidelight into the careers of the men who made that century so remarkable in human progress. But its apologetical value lies in the demonstration that most of these men were

too truly scientific to turn into agnostic philosophers. Of one of the few exceptions, Professor Huxley, we are told: "He spawned hypotheses, though he never, as far as we know, originated a single discovery save the one he made as an undergraduate of nineteen" (p. 318). Dr. Murray himself explains his purpose in the preface :—

> Some scientists—they are not of the greatest—seem to think that a love of truth actuates a man in their ranks more than anyone else. If one reads such a tenth-rate book as J. W. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, or even such a book as A. D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, one is conscious that both authors assume unquestioningly that the theologian is moved by prepossessions, whereas the man of science is moved by nothing else than the desire to ascertain the facts as they actually are. Would that it were so with all men of science! . . . I have enough of faith in the candour of men of science to think that if—it is a big if—it is possible to convince them that there are every whit as many prepossessions in their departments as there are in theology, we shall hear less of the warfare between science and theology.

He accomplishes this by showing that there is an *odium scientificum* quite as passionate as the *odium theologicum*, and that it has done more to impede the advance of science than the opposition of the theologians. With almost monotonous regularity all the great discoverers have had to struggle in youth against the neglect and opposition which sprang from the conservatism or jealousy of their forerunners, only in turn to manifest the same human weakness towards their own successors or supplanters.[1] Of personal expressions of opinion cited the most valuable is perhaps Lister's, made in 1909: "I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, there is no antagonism between the religion of Jesus Christ and any fact scientifically known." (p. 259).

Mr. Chesterton's lively and acute volume is more

[1] Very pathetic is the story of Ignaz Philip Semmelweis of Vienna, who anticipated Lister, but met with such ridicule and opposition that he lost his reason and had to be sent to an asylum. (P. 267).

popular in its appeal and more frankly polemical. He tilts gaily and gallantly against the weird anthropology which assumes our evolution from the ape or beyond. He makes no claim to erudition or research, but voices the plain man's vigorous protest against the pseudo-science which pretends to write the history of pre-historic man; and the equally foolish liberal criticism which seeks in one way or another to diminish the dimensions and thus obscure the transcendence of Christ. The book is full of shrewd thrusts, as for example :—

> Touching this matter of the origin of religion, the truth is that those who are trying to explain it are trying to explain it away. Subconsciously they feel that it looks less formidable when thus lengthened out into a gradual and almost invisible process. But in fact this perspective entirely falsifies the reality of experience. They bring together two things that are totally different, the stray hints of evolutionary origins and the solid and self-evident block of humanity, and try to shift their standpoint till they see them in a single fore-shortened line. But it is an optical illusion. (p. 53).

Practising a self-denying ordinance I will permit myself only one more quotation, in which Liberal criticism of the New Testament is severely but not unjustly handled :—

> The date of the Fourth Gospel, which at one time was steadily growing later and later, is now steadily growing earlier and earlier, until critics are staggered at the dawning and dreadful possibility that it might be something like what it professes to be. The last limit of an early date for the extinction of true Christianity has probably been found by the latest German professor whose authority is invoked by Dean Inge. This learned scholar says that Pentecost was the occasion of the first founding of an ecclesiastical, dogmatic and despotic Church utterly alien to the simple ideas of Jesus of Nazareth. This may be called, in a popular as well as in a learned sense, the limit. What do professors of this kind imagine that men are made of? . . . . Surely anybody's common sense would tell him that enthusiasts, who only meet through their common enthusiasm for a leader whom they loved, would not instantly rush away to establish everything that he hated. No, if the "ecclesiastical and dogmatic system" is as old as Pentecost, it

is as old as Christmas. If we trace it back to such very early Christians, we must trace it back to Christ. (p. 250-251).

Mr. Chesterton is fully cognisant of the currents of thought sweeping over the English-speaking world at least, and he writes as one who feels that the vast, impalpable cloud of doubt, which hung over that world a generation back, is lifting. Or, to change the metaphor, he seems to himself like a cavalry officer called upon to charge a defeated enemy, sullenly retiring and fighting here and there a rearguard action.

But a weightier and more important work is undoubtedly *Science, Religion and Reality,* which may be described as a symposium of ten eminent scholars and writers who seek, with admirable impartiality, to examine the question: Are Science and Religion in conflict or in harmony? There is one grave exception to be taken to this volume. The Roman Catholic attitude finds no representative, and the resultant loss is greater than its authors are aware. But there is also an advantage. Nobody can cast the cheap reproach that fear of Roman anathemas has influenced the opinions expressed.

Earl Balfour's introduction is a piece of exquisite prose, and he puts in almost perfect form, what is for many the most perturbing objection against faith:—

It seems clear that such difficulties as there are belong more to the sphere of emotion. They are aesthetic rather than rational; and it is only in some mood of aesthetic sentiment that we can do them justice. Let us then conceive ourselves to be gazing on a clear and quiet night upon the unveiled glory of the heavens, striving to form some adequate representation of the greatness and splendour of the innumerable suns which, crowded though they seem, lie far removed from each other and from us in the unsoundable depths of space. And then, when imagination wearies of the effort, let us consider the petty planet which for the moment is our home, and recall the tremendous events of which in the Christian story it is alleged to have been the scene. Surely in the mood which this experience naturally provokes, the contrast between the conclusions of science and the doctrines of religion, though it

may leave our reason unperplexed, must somewhat disturb our feelings.

An American writer has described this sense of human insignificance amid the vastness of the universe as the "cosmic chill." Earl Balfour answers it by the latest teaching of science as to the nature of celestial bodies :—

> The glory of the stars is the joint product of our mental constitution, our nervous system, our eyes and certain electro-magnetic happenings whose effects are conveyed to us from the remotest parts of space through the ether by which we are surrounded. The orbs of heaven, apart from our perception of them, consist of incredibly minute electric charges thinly scattered through the vast and vacant areas, which, in the language of sense perception, we describe as stars . . . . It is to us who dwell on earth that these glories owe their being. If we are nothing, they are nothing. They are born of our terrestial sensibilities.

Perhaps a simpler answer is that mind and matter are incommensurable quantities, and that the simplest spiritual being transcends in dignity and importance a thousand suns and solar systems. The spectacular immensity of the universe creates a difficulty for the imagination, but not for the intellect. Men in general are too much under the domination of the imagination. But the philosopher should control the operation of this important but deceptive faculty. It is the function of the intelligence, Kant tells us, to set limits to the imagination's play of fancy (Schwärmerei). It is difficult to *imagine* so vast a world pivoting on so poor a thing as man appears to be. Yet if man is the only creature of intellect and will within the confines of the cosmos—a question we cannot settle with certainty—the cosmos exists that he, seeing it, may glorify God. For the glory of God is the end of creation ; and only reasonable beings can give formal glory to God. All this may seem scholastic or mediaeval to modern thought. But let the latter supply an acceptable substitute before it asks us to abandon the only explanation which gives a meaning to any single thing within our ken.

Now that we are spiritual beings, that there is something in us which cannot be explained in terms of matter, whatever be the ultimate analysis which science offers of matter, is generally admitted to-day. As Earl Balfour well says, "no man really supposes that he personally is nothing more than a changing group of electrical charges, so distributed that their relative motions enable or compel them in their collective capacity to will, to hope, to love, to think, perhaps to discuss themselves as a physical unity." And spiritual reality once admitted, the laws governing it are immediately and obviously removed from the empire or inquisition of the physical sciences. Hence the possibility of conflict is excluded, and such opposition as appears to exist necessarily springs from exaggerated statements or claims on one side or the other. The fact that misunderstandings between science and religion have at times arisen in the past is too obvious to be denied. But the whole drift of this volume is to show that there have been misunderstandings and no more. The blame for them has lain now with the theologian now with the scientist; but the number and the extent of them have also been exaggerated.

Dr. Charles Singer in a paper entitled *Historical Relations* seeks to specify the times and circumstances in which opposition, real or apparent, arose between the two great departments of human knowledge. He does not find such opposition among primitive men, to whom indeed he attributes too little of either science or religion.

Neither does he discover it in the early civilisations of Egypt or the Mesopotamian peoples, nor yet among the Jews. For him the true idea of science, as we understand it now, arose among the Greeks; and it was first clearly differentiated from religion by the Coan physician Hippocrates the Great. The philosophers trenched upon both domains, and might (he thinks) have come into conflict with religious teaching if there had been any serious religious system; but there was not. Curiously

enough he sees in Wisdom ch. V. a Jewish repudiation of Greek thought, and in the Apocalyptic literature of the Rabbis, as well as the early Christian insistence upon the Day of the Lord, he detects a revolt against the study of phenomena, which is science. Galen of Pergamum (150-200 A.D.) took up intermediate ground between Stoicism and Christianity, and with his death "science too fell dead and was not reborn for a thousand years."

The early Christian Church was in opposition to the philosophical basis of pagan thought, and sofarforth in opposition to the deterministic science embedded in it. "But the conflict was simply with a philosophical tradition which contained dead, non-progressive, and misunderstood scientific elements." In the Middle Ages Christianity and Aristotelianism worked harmoniously, though Dr. Singer thinks the harmony was conditioned to a large extent by mediaeval ignorance of the real teaching of Aristotle. Such conflict as arose "was not of faith *versus* observation, but of opinion *versus* opinion," Indeed the Ptolemaic system, coupled with the general philosophic outlook of the time, rendered conflict impossible. There were no discoveries of natural laws, no proclamation of scientific theories based upon detailed observation, experiment, and research to clash with received beliefs. The birth of modern science falls between 1,500 and 1,700 A.D. Here we find the beginning of misunderstandings. Even then "it was the cosmical speculations of astronomers and physicists, not the investigations of biologists, that attracted unwelcome ecclesiastical attention." Dr. Singer tells the story with a laudable effort at impartiality. Thus he writes: "Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), who was no practical scientist, had eagerly incorporated into his often fantastic philosophy the ill-worked-out conclusions of Copernicus. Despite the allegorical presentation of his thoughts, his works leave us in no doubt of the vehemence of his attack upon established religion." In his account of the famous Galileo controversy he

exaggerates the part played by the Jesuits in opposition to the great scientist, who had friends as well as adversaries in the Order. Bellarmine was distinctly friendly, though he seems to have thought the doctrines dangerous and wrong. It was a Dominican who first brought Galileo's teaching under the notice of the Inquisition, and the theological opposition was too general to be laid at the door of any particular group. The new ideas were startling, and it is to be noted that Galileo brought very inadequate scientific proofs, while his efforts to wrest the Scriptures to his views were not felicitous. But Dr. Singer, at least, spares us all the nonsense about torture and persecution which has been current ever since in non-Catholic circles. Of Kepler, who carried on the work of Galileo, he writes : " Kepler, despite the mystical and doubtless heretical tendencies of many of his religious views, retained a perfectly simple religious faith, and regarded scientific discovery as a process of the revelation of the greatness of the Creator." Again neither Descartes nor Newton were at loggerheads with religion. The errors of the former both in philosophy and science were soon manifest enough. But they were debated without any particular *odium theologicum*, and were refuted by scientists and philosophers more than by theologians. In conclusion Dr. Singer thinks that the real achievement of science which may be supposed to constitute a difficulty for religion is the discovery of the reign of law. Even Darwinism has introduced no new factor. " After Darwin it was neither easier nor harder to explain how man could escape from the tyranny of natural law. Darwin doubtless brought the problem home to the ordinary man ; he did not create it for the thinker."

Yet we may ask ourselves : Does it exist for the thinker at all ? The Reign of Law may be taken to mean the existence of an ordered universe governed by a Supreme Lawgiver, and then no difficulty is created for any thinker

who has an elementary grasp of logic; or it may mean, as on the lips of many it apparently does mean, the existence of an uncaused, unexplained universe subject to laws emanating from no lawgiver, governed by no purpose and moving to no end. Such a conception certainly conflicts with religion; but does it not also conflict with the primary laws of thought? And if any scientist asserts such a metaphysical system, is he not quitting his last very foolishly and erring very palpably? Dr. Singer is able to assure us that the majority of men of science "have accepted their religion as they found it .... A proportion of scientific men, incensed by the mere discrepancy between the Biblical and the scientific record, have abandoned more or less completely their relation to religion." He himself seems to suppose there are only two ways out—a separation of internal from external experience and a flight to a haven of peace down the mystic way, or a combination of determinism and pantheism such as has appealed to many scientists since Spinoza. But is there not a *tertium quid*, namely, a synthesis of internal and external experience, leading through reason to a higher unity and a First Source of spirit and matter as well as of laws governing both realms? Nothing is more astonishing than the assumption that religion needs a lawlessness in the universe either for its existence or for its demonstration. On the contrary one of the metaphysical arguments for the existence of God is based precisely on the awe-inspiring manifestation of wisdom in the ordering of the cosmos. The Book of Wisdom and St. Paul argued from it; and the pre-Copernican scholastics argued from it with no less fervour than the post-Copernicans. Every increment to our knowledge of that order reinforces this impressive argument.

Neither does free-will clash with the reign of law. It certainly clashes with a purely mechanical, deterministic interpretation of life. But does this not also clash with one of the evident data of consciousness—our own free-

dom ? Professor Needham in his own able contribution concludes :—

> I have hoped also to show that although mechanism in biology is perfectly justified, and indeed essential, it cannot be applied to psychology . . . . The earlier mechanistic biology, before the era of experimental science, was indeed somewhat incompatible with religion, because it did not know its own limitations, nor did these become apparent until quite recent times. But now that the assumptions on which the triumph of mechanistic biology in the last century is based have been well examined, it is seen that for its own sphere it is a real triumph, but, at the same time, its jurisdiction over other fields cannot be admitted.

The theologian is not called upon to take sides in the purely biological discussion. But if mechanism is excluded from psychology, he has all he needs for maintaining the freedom of the soul.

And here it is interesting to observe a certain ironical *revanche de Dieu*, which has its pathetic as well as its instructive aspects. *The Reminiscences of a Maynooth Professor* appeared simultaneously with the volume under consideration. In this retrospect of a troubled career, Dr. McDonald retells the story of his work *On Motion*, with an unshaken assurance that the thesis condemned by Church authority was and is true, was and is alone compatible with science. Let us see. Dr. McDonald assumes as a conclusion of science that all energy is kinetic. From this he goes on to argue that all causation in secondary causes is motion received from the First Cause and passed on. He then extends this to spiritual activities, and bases on it a novel theory of the Divine Concursus, natural and supernatural. We need not here enter into this highly metaphysical question. It will be enough to examine the starting point of the discussion. Is all energy kinetic ? It is true that many scientists thought so half a century ago. But now Professor Aliotta of the University of Naples, in a paper entitled *Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, informs us that " Carnot's principle shows the impossi-

bility of reducing all the varied forms of energy to kinetic alone." Hence, even in the domain of physical forces, the hypothesis that led a Professor of theology to views on spiritual agencies which seem to jeopardise the freedom of the will has been disproven by experiments in thermodynamics! This is only one example of what has often occurred, namely, the appearance of conflict arising from the too hasty acceptation of scientific hypotheses and the extension of them to fields where, whether true or false, they do not apply. If Dr. McDonald had brought to the consideration of scientific teaching as critical a spirit as he manifested in his study of theology, he might have been spared much spiritual anguish. Professor Aliotta adds: "The law of the conservation of quantity has no significance in the spiritual life, but is rather a perennial creation of new qualities." And again: "Some of the foregoing observations have shown us that there was a profound contradiction in the very bosom of the theory of evolution, which was the pet idea of Positivism."

Professor Needham in another place writes: "The triumph of mechanistic biology has indeed been a real one, for it has succeeded in abolishing the vital force in living things which so unnecessarily complicated the whole question. We are back again with the concept of the undivided anima, and the ground is perfectly clear for philosophical and psychological discussion as to the psychophysical problem." This looks very like a confirmation of that Canon of the Council of Vienne which Dr. McDonald held would need revision, namely that "the rational or intellectual soul is essentially and *per se* the form of the body." Needless to say I pass no judgment on the biological problem. Much in the Professor's paper supposes a specialised knowledge which I am far from possessing. But I may again point out the ironical contrast between Dr. McDonald's abandonment of an infallible statement and the most recent confirmation of that statement by biologists, not theologians.

Professor Eddington in his contribution, *The Domain of Physical Science*, sums up the present situation thus :—

> We have attempted in this essay to show the direction which, it appears to us, the tendency of modern scientific thought is taking. It differs markedly from the views of thirty years ago . . . . Let the scientist stick to his pointer-readings, is a good rule ; and if, like many before us who have broken it, we have lost our way in the outer fog, we may perhaps plead that it was necessary to show that students of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have at least different ways of losing themselves, and the unqualified materialism of the last century is not to-day the most inviting bypath. Our thesis has been that the recent tendencies of scientific thought lead to the belief that mind is a greater instrument than was formerly recognised in prescribing the nature and laws of the external world as studied in physical science ; that in exploring his own territory the physicist comes up against the influence of that wider reality which he cannot altogether shut out . . . . We have spelt mind with a small " m," for our values are human values ; yet we trust there is in us something that has value for the eternal. Perhaps the activity of the world is not only in these little sparks from the divine mind which flicker for a few years and are gone, but in the Mind, the Logos. " The same was in the beginning with God . . . . And without Him was not anything made that was made." It will not be expected that science should indicate how this colourless pantheism is to be made into a vital religion. Science does not indicate whether the world spirit is good or evil, but it does perhaps justify us in applying the adjective " creative." It is for other considerations to examine the daring hypothesis that the Spirit in whom we have our being—our actuality—is approachable to us ; that He is to us the beneficent Father, without which it seems to me, the question of the theoretical existence of a God has little significance.

This is not a very precise or triumphant credo ; but it is all the more typical of the work we are examining on that account. All the writers are clear about the dualism of mind and matter. All admit that science keeping to its own province cannot pronounce on origins or ultimate causes. All deny that the sciences invalidate the claims of religion. All agree that the laboratory cannot settle everything. They are conscious that physics, however

developed, do not render metaphysics superfluous. Thus far their papers have apologetical value. But it must be admitted that their own philosophical and religious ideas are neither clear nor accurate. Even Professor Oman, in a conscientious effort to define religion, arrives at a definition which is inadequate rather than erroneous. But he registers one very useful protest :—

> Religion, more than any other subject, claims interest as its due, and more definitely affirms that it cannot be found or understood without something like enthusiasm for it . . . . But this view is far from receiving universal acceptance. While students of other subjects are approved for regarding their facts as certain and important, interest in religion is frequently forthwith and without further discrimination identified with bias. Thus, not only a complete lack of interest, but a positive distaste for the whole business has at times been put forward as a necessary qualification for an uncorrupted inquiry. Lack of interest in a subject which deserves interest is itself bias, and is sure to overlook or distort the facts to be considered.

Dean Inge in his *Conclusion*, while agreeing with the tenor of what the scientists had said, adds the warning : " Those Churchmen who airily declare that there is no longer any conflict between Christianity and science are very thoughtless or are wilfully shutting their eyes. There is a very serious conflict, and the challenge was presented not in the age of Darwin, but in the age of Copernicus and Galileo." His difficulty is, however, very different from the one mentioned by Earl Balfour. He thinks that the creeds of the Church suppose geocentrism so essentially that they are rendered meaningless by the Copernican astronomy. Of all the difficulties touched on in the volume this seems the strangest. The dullest mediaeval theologian or philosopher would have smiled at the idea that the dogmas of the Resurrection and Ascension, of Hell and Heaven could be essentially dependent on our ideas of space and time. No doubt there was, is, and must be a certain anthropomorphism in our formulation of divine truths. Yet surely an

Aquinas or a Scotus saw that too clearly to be deceived by the form of the expression. That the dogmas of the faith were irrevocably bound up with "a geographical heaven" such as is found in the Ptolemaic system would have seemed to them just puerile.

It is a relief to pass from this work, sincere and reverent though it be, to the two volumes in which Abbé Moreux makes a comprehensive survey of the whole question. It is a relief for the reason that both sides of the case are so clearly stated. He begins by assuring us that "if we follow him we shall discover that the confines of religion and science are much more restricted than is generally thought." The dogmas of faith which come under consideration are: "An eternal God, Creator of the world, which He has drawn from nothingness and governs by laws freely chosen by Himself, which do not exclude miracle or prayer. God, finally, creating man in His Image, that is, giving him a spiritual soul endowed with intelligence and free-will." Does science contradict any one of these? The learned Abbé (and the adjective is here no *epitheton ornans*) gives a very decisive negative. He shows, first, that science, unlike dogma, is perpetually changing, advancing from hypothesis to hypothesis. Of these some are later demonstrably falsified; the best suffer very profound modifications. He does not deny to scientists the right to form hypotheses, without which there would be no advance at all, nor even the right to call in the aid of philosophy and metaphysics. Only he pleads that they shall first acquire some grasp of philosophy, especially of the fundamental branch called Logic, that is the laws of right reason, and of the basic truths of metaphysics. But the agnostic scientists, while pretending to deride philosophy and metaphysics, are perpetually making statements that are not the offspring of scientific investigation, but the fruits of mental bias. Littré declared: "The essential postulate of materialism is the eternity of matter, namely, that it has had no origin

and shall have no end." This and the infinity of space are, according to Abbé Moreux, the fundamental dogmas of positivism. Both are, he contends, demonstrably false. The world we behold, though unimaginably vast, cannot be infinite and cannot be eternal. Science affords no basis for eternal evolution. On the contrary the phenomenon of entropy or transformation of energy shows that the cosmos, if existing from eternity, would be like a clock run down. And to suppose a winding up again without some extracosmic power would be, first, a gratuitous supposition and, secondly, an absurd one. The value of these volumes, however, lies rather in the proofs they give how the recent discoveries of science have made the older materialistic hypotheses appear rather ludicrous.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that science to-day creates less difficulties for faith than ever. It has altered none of the facts upon which metaphysics based its proofs of God's existence, attributes and activities. It has in no wise disproved a *causa finalis* or weakened the force of the teleological argument. It has utterly failed to explain mind as a function of matter. It has not and cannot disprove the possibility of miracle. It leaves the problem of belief where it was from the beginning, and where it shall be to the end.[1]

P. J. Gannon.

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[1] Since these pages were written a very interesting discussion on the same subject has taken place in France. M. Robert de Flers of the French Academy addressed to all living members of the Academy of Sciences the following query: *La Science est-elle opposée au sentiment religieux?* The answers were published in the Paris *Figaro* (May 2-22, 1926), and Père de Grandmaison, S.J., has made them the subject of an article in *Etudes* (July 5th), which concludes thus:—"On ne résumerait pas mal l'enquête du *Figaro* en disant que tous les membres actuels de l'Académie des Sciences se sont prononcés contre l'opposition, longtemps suggerée et actuellement encore enseignée dans nombre d'ouvrages scolaires, entre Science et Religion. Cet antagonisme prétendu est indéfendable: pas une voix ne s'est élevée en sa faveur . . . . La grande majorité de ces savants va plus loin, et conclut à une compatibilité positive, voire à une entente cordiale."

CATHOLIC HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D. PH.D., SC.D.

PART II [1]

When the reform of the old hospitals in Germany became absolutely necessary after the introduction of Listerism and the development of asepsis, the new German empire took up the task very seriously. Above all Prussia wanted to show good example in the matter, and so Virchow was commissioned to outline the policy and even to apply the important principles in the erection and development of new hospitals for Berlin. This was an immense proposition; for in the course of thirty years Berlin had grown from a city of about half a million to about two million, and hospital facilities had to be increased correspondingly. The old hospitals were a very difficult problem. Some of them were unspeakably dirty and unalterably septic. The hospitals in Berlin were no better, most of them, than the great community hospital, the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus*, in Munich. It was of that hospital that the surgical director declared only a little more than fifty years ago, somewhat before the introduction of Listerism: "I will operate in that hospital no more." And no wonder. His mortality after operations during the preceding year had been about four out of five of the patients operated on. He was not to blame particularly, for the best that any surgeon hoped to do at that time was to get what was fondly called laudable pus in his wounds. In a word he rejoiced if he did not get some of the severe septic conditions, but had free flowing pus, which the patient (he hoped) would gradually overcome.

The surgeon was not to blame from another standpoint either; for all sorts of infections were constantly present in the wards, and the floors and even the walls must have reeked with them. Erysipelas was so common in hospitals as to be almost endemic. Hospital gangrene made its regular visitations and produced its awful effects.

[1] For Part I see June issue.

Septicemia and pyemia were such frequent occurrences that they were looked upon as almost normal hospital features. They were treated in a great many places with massive doses of whiskey in the belief that this would stimulate vitality. Whiskey is not a stimulant but a narcotic, and the only good effect produced by it was that the patients did not note their symptoms so much as before and therefore did not scare themselves to death. They were kept just enough under the influence of the whiskey to keep them from minding their symptoms to any serious extent; sometimes more than a quart a day was necessary for this purpose. In the London hospitals it is said that four times as much whiskey was used a generation ago as was used just before the war, and the quantity is said to be constantly decreasing. Curiously enough, consumption of milk has gone up in the hospitals in a direct ratio to the reduction of the consumption of spirituous liquors.

The one thing that saved the old hospitals from being ever so much worse and more fatal for the patients than they actually were was the fact that surgical operations were not done unless they were absolutely demanded by the conditions, so that the patient would surely die if he were not operated upon. Needless to say this left a great many of the sickest patients under almost intolerable conditions in the wards, so that they became a source of serious detriment to the morale of other patients, often interfered seriously with their rest, and, worst of all, provided ardent foci of infectious disease for patients who had been admitted for milder affections. Sometimes these patients were very seriously affected by the conditions in which they found themselves. A man would be admitted for instance to a hospital for the amputation of a finger, and would often contract a series of infections in the hospital that would either cause his death or bring about serious deterioration of his health and strength.

It was the Augean task of cleaning up these stables, so far as Prussia was concerned, that was put on Virchow's shoulders, and with his usual thoroughness he proceeded to learn all that he could about hospitals so as to use his information to the best advantage. Above all he studied the history of German hospitals and gathered details that proved very interesting. He found that in the later Middle Ages, that is during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, there had been a very marvellous development of hospitals throughout Germany. It is probable that practically every town of more than 5,000 inhabitants had a hospital. Virchow actually found that during the thirteenth century alone close on 100 hospitals had been founded in various parts of Germany. When he unearthed the efficient cause of this hospital organization, he found that it was all to be traced to the movement set on foot and the initiative awakened by a single pope, Innocent III. As Virchow said, "It may be recognized and admitted that it was reserved for the Roman Catholic Church and above all for Pope Innocent III not only to open the bourse of Christian charity and mercy in all its fullness, but also to guide the life-giving stream into every branch of human life in an ordered manner." He added: "For this reason alone, if for no other, the interest in this man and in this time will never die out."

Virchow found that these early German hospitals had been very well conducted. Indeed when Pope Innocent III brought about their foundations through his encouragement and practically positive command (for every bishop on his visit *ad limina* was told that the Pope expected him to build a hospital in his diocese), the pontiff provided not only the model of a hospital in Rome but also the religious order, that of the Holy Ghost, to care for it. All over Germany, as Virchow pointed out, the women of the high nobility made it a point to be deeply interested in hospitals, and gave not only of their money but also of their time and interest to the hospitals.

Whenever that is the case, that is whenever hospitals are the special object of attention on the part of the better-to-do classes, then one can always be sure that the hospital will be maintained on a plane of high efficiency and that abuses of all kinds will be controlled to the greatest possible degree. Where this personal interest on the part of women of the better classes is not maintained, then hospital conditions inevitably degenerate. Salaried officials have in the history of hospitals always failed to prevent abuses and sometimes even crying evils.

One of the most important problems that Virchow had to solve was the question of who were to have charge of the hospitals under the new order in Germany. None knew better than he all the difficulties there were in hospital management; for during the better part of half a century he had been identified with many forms of hospitals—university, municipal, and war hospitals. He had very little patience with religious formulae. Though he was buried with the Lutheran rites, all his life he had been a typical agnostic. In spite of this he was perfectly frank in confessing how much he realized was accomplished by the religious management of hospitals. He even went so far as to say that if hospitals for the poor are to be successfully managed, there must be a change in the viewpoint of those who take up the work of hospital nursing, that is, their sole motive must not be the wages that they earn, and the nurses must come from better social classes than was then the custom in Germany.

The question as to whether secular or religious management of hospitals shall prevail has not even yet, nearly a full generation after Virchow raised it, been absolutely decided. This adds to the value of Virchow's opinion, founded as it was on extensive personal experience with hospitals and with a background of a wider knowledge of the history of hospitals than has been given to any but a very few of the special students of hospital history. No one knew better than Virchow the many sacrifices

required if patients are to be properly cared for. Himself, as I have said, utterly without religion, it is curious to see how he recognizes the benefit that religious motives confer upon the management of a hospital. He says :—

The general hospital is the real purpose of our time, and anyone who takes up service in it must give himself up to it from the purest of humanitarian motives. The hospital attendant must, at least morally and spiritually, see in the patient only the helpless and suffering man, his brother and his neighbour ; and in order to be able to do this he must have a warm heart, an earnest devotion, and a true sense of duty. There is in reality scarcely any human occupation that brings so immediately with it its own reward, or in which the feeling of personal contentment comes from thorough accomplishment of purpose.

But so far as the accomplishment of the task set one is concerned, the attendant in the hospital has ever and anon new demands made upon him and a new task imposed. One patient lies next the other, and when one departs another comes in his place. From day to day, from week to week, from year to year, always the same work, over and over again, only always for new patients. This tires out the hospital attendant. Then the custom of seeing suffering weakens the enthusiasm and lessens the sense of duty. There is need of a special stimulus in order to reawaken the old sympathy. Whence shall this be obtained—from religion or from some temporal reward ? In trying to solve this question we are standing before the most difficult problem of modern hospital management.

It may be easy, from an impartial but one-sided view of the subject, to say that the feeling of duty, of devotion, even of sacrifice, is by no means necessarily dependent on the hope of religious reward or the expectation of material remuneration. Such a point of view, however, such a freedom of good will, such a warmth of sympathy from purely human motives as would be expected in these conditions, are only to be found in very unusual goodness of disposition, or in an extent of ethical education such as cannot be found in most of those who give themselves at the present time to the services of the sick in the hospitals. If pure humanity is to be a motive, then other circles of society must be induced to take part in the care of the sick. Our training schools for nurses must teach very differently to what they do at present, if the care of the sick in municipal hospitals shall compare favourably with that given them in religious institutions.

We are having an interesting demonstration here in

the United States of some of Virchow's reflections as to hospitals and their personnel in the rapidly multiplying Sisters' hospitals. A dozen years ago the Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada was established, and this has done wonders in making the Catholic hospitals thorough in their work and progressive in their outlook. The American College of Surgeons came to realize that good surgery must ever rest on a tripod of efficiency. First there must be good surgeons, secondly good hospitals, and thirdly good nurses. Unless these three factors are combined, the surgery accomplished will always be seriously defective. Surgeons therefore took up, as one of the most important elements of their program for surgical advance, the standardization of our hospitals. Most of the large hospitals are already quite as efficient and as thorough in their methods as could be expected. A great many of the smaller hospitals, including not a few of the Sisters' hospitals, were backward, mainly because the management did not know how to set about making their hospitals as efficient as they should be, and also because they had not the means to accomplish all they would like. All this has now been changed for the better through constructive criticism and the pecuniary aid the public were willing to offer once the necessity for it was brought home to them.

Medical education in the United States made a great advance at the beginning of the twentieth century. Above all, it was realized that the young physician ought to go through some practical experience under the eyes of older practitioners of medicine and surgery before he became qualified to take up work for himself. A fifth year of study to be passed in a hospital became part of the requirements for a medical education. This fifth year however could not be taken in any sort of hospital no matter what its standards, but must be taken in a recognized hospital. There were not enough positions in the larger hospitals for all the students who were graduating in medicine, so the College of Surgeons took upon itself the duty of

raising the standard in a great many of the hospitals, and thus provided places for the medical graduates who still had their year of hospital service to go through before they could be licensed to practise medicine. It was to meet this standardization process particularly that the Catholic Hospital Association was organized under the influence and wise counsel of Father Charles B. Moulinier, S.J. The Catholic hospitals of the country took up the movement for standardization, and magnificent results have been accomplished.

This program of standardization is really to the benefit of the hospital in every way. It insists on the keeping of scientific records of all cases. It demands the holding of staff meetings at regularly recurring intervals, at which all the deaths that have taken place in the hospitals are discussed and any matters of moment connected with them carefully investigated. Hospital affairs generally are brought up for the consideration of the hospital staff, and as a result the relations between the physicians and surgeons and between the staff and the Sisters are much better as a rule than they were before. Standardization makes greatly for the benefit of the patient, keeps the doctors in attendance constantly on the *qui vive* for advances in medicine and surgery, and makes the whole air of the hospital progressive. It includes particularly a well equipped pathological laboratory for immediate and accurate diagnosis, and while this demands the services of competent trained attendants in the laboratory, the Catholic hospitals have risen to this necessity. The Sisters themselves have been trained and they have trained others, and the result has been a marked advance in the scientific spirit of these hospitals.

There is no doubt at all that our time is to see a further great development in hospitals. We are promised by 1930 an increase of hospital beds up to one million and probably more. Sisters' hospitals are increasing in number and in size more than other hospitals, and in not a few places the Sisters are being invited to take over

previously existing hospitals. They are solving our hospital problem most efficiently from every standpoint. Certainly in countries where there are large Catholic elements in the population the Sisters' hospitals represent a distinct need, and a philanthropist intent on doing good for mankind could not do better than by the establishment and endowment of such institutions.

Here in the United States one of the great philanthropic foundations established by Carnegie felt the truth of this, and made a very substantial donation some years ago to the department established in the Medical School of the Jesuit University of Marquette in Milwaukee. The Marquette College of Hospital Administration, together with a School for Technicians and a Normal School for Hospital Sisters, has just begun its work, which is of very great promise. The courses of study include hospital management, hospital finance and accounting, religion, ethics, and other branches of special utility in hospital management.

The organization of the Catholic hospitals of the United States so that they shall be ever so much more in touch with each other has proceeded rapidly in the last ten years. *Hospital Progress*, a most interesting and creditable magazine published by the Catholic Hospital Association, is serving to bring together all the Catholic hospital interests. There is already an International Catholic Guild of Nurses, established through the efforts and under the guidance of Father E. T. Garesché, S.J., which plans to bring together the Catholic nurses of the world. This Guild, which now numbers over 1,000 members in and out of the United States, is launching a great program of scholarships and education. The social problems connected with hospitals are thus being solved in a very interesting and promising fashion by the various phases of the Catholic hospital movement in the United States.

JAMES J. WALSH.

CHURCH AND STATE IN MEXICO[1]

Two Documents

[*The Catholic press has kept its readers well informed on the religious persecution which President Calles formally inaugurated on July 31st. As the latter has repeatedly defended his action by appealing to certain Articles of the* 1917 *Constitution, we reproduce these Articles. No comment is needed; but it is well to recall their origin. When Carranza came into power by force of arms, he called a Convention in which only his followers were allowed to sit, and that body framed the Constitution of* 1917—*a Constitution never adopted by the Mexican Congress, never submitted to the State Legislatures, never voted upon by the people. It was drawn up by a military junta and imposed on the Mexican people by force.*]

I

Articles of the Constitution (1917) defining the relations of Church and State

Art. 1.—Every person in the United States of Mexico shall enjoy all guarantees granted by this Constitution; these shall neither be abridged nor suspended except in such cases and under such conditions as are herein provided.

Art. 3.—Instruction is free; that given in public institutions of learning shall be secular. Primary instruction, whether higher or lower, given in private institutions shall likewise be secular.

No religious corporation nor minister of any religious creed shall establish or direct schools of primary instruction.

Primary schools may be established only subject to official supervision.

Private instruction in public institutions shall be gratuitous.

Art. 5.—The State shall not permit any contract, covenant or agreement to be carried out having for its object the abridgment, loss or irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, whether by reason of labour, education, or religious vows. The law, therefore, does not permit the establishment of monastic orders, of whatever denomination or for whatever purpose contemplated.

[1] For an account of religious conditions in Mexico prior to September, 1923, see an article in *Studies* of that date.

Nor shall any person legally agree to his own proscription or exile, or to the temporary or permanent renunciation of the exercise of any profession or industrial or commercial pursuit.

Art. 24.—Every one is free to embrace the religion of his choice, and to practise all ceremonies, devotions, or observances of his particular creed, either in places of public worship or at home, provided that such practices do not constitute offences punishable by law.

Every religious act of public worship shall be performed strictly within the places of public worship, which shall be at all times under governmental supervision.

Art. 27. II.—The religious institutions known as churches, irrespective of creed, shall in no case have legal capacity to acquire, hold, or administer real property or loans made on such real property; all such real property or loans as may be at present held by the said religious institutions, either on their own behalf or through third parties, shall vest in the Nation, and any one may give information as to property so held. Presumptive proof shall be sufficient to declare the information well-founded. Places of public worship are the property of the Nation, as represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine which of them may continue to be devoted to this purpose. Episcopal residences, rectories, seminaries, asylums or collegiate establishments of religious institutions, convents or any other buildings built or designed for the administration, propaganda, or teaching of the tenets of any religious creed shall forthwith vest, as of full right, directly in the Nation, to be used exclusively for the public services of the Federation or of the States, within their respective jurisdictions. All places of public worship which shall later be erected shall be the property of the Nation.

III.—Public and private charitable institutions for the assistance of the necessitous, for scientific research, or for the diffusion of knowledge, mutual aid societies or organisations formed for any other lawful purpose shall in no case acquire more landed property than is indispensable for their object and is directly or indirectly destined for that purpose, but they may acquire, hold, or administer loans made on real property unless the mortgage terms exceed ten years. In no case shall institutions of this character be under the patronage, direction, administration, charge, or supervision of religious corporations or institutions, nor of ministers of any religious creed or of their dependants, even though either the former or the latter shall not be in the exercise of their office.

Art. 37.—Citizenship shall be lost :—

III.—By compromising themselves in any way before ministers of any religious creed or before any other person not to observe the present Constitution, or the laws arising thereunder.

Art. 55.—Representatives shall have the following qualifications :—

VI.—They shall not be ministers of any religious creed.

Art. 130.—The Federal authorities shall have power to exercise in matters of religious worship and outward ecclesiastical forms such intervention as the laws prescribe. All other officials shall act as auxiliaries to the Federal authorities.

The Congress shall not enact any law establishing or forbidding any religion whatsoever.

Marriage is a civil contract. Marriage and all other acts relating to the civil status of individuals shall appertain to the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil authorities in the manner and form by law provided, and they shall have the force and validity given them by said laws.

A simple promise to tell the truth and to comply with obligations contracted shall subject the promisor, in the event of a breach, to the penalties established therefor by law.

The law recognises no juridic personality in the religious institutions known as churches.

Ministers of religious creeds shall be considered as persons exercising a profession, and shall be directly subject to the laws enacted on the matter.

The State legislatures shall have the exclusive power of determining the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds, according to the needs of each locality. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

No ministers of religious creeds shall, either in public or private meetings, or in acts of worship or religious propaganda, criticise the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in particular or the Government in general ; they shall have no vote, nor be eligible to office, nor shall they be entitled to assemble for political purposes.

Before dedicating new places of worship for public use, permission shall be obtained from the Department of the Interior (Gobernacion) ; the opinion of the Governor of the respective State shall be previously heard on the subject. Every place of worship shall have a person charged with its care and maintenance, who shall be legally responsible for the faithful performance of the laws on religious observances within the said

place of worship, and for all the objects used for purposes of worship.

The caretaker of each place of public worship, together with ten citizens of the place, shall promptly advise the municipal authorities as to the person charged with the care of the said place of worship. Every change shall be notified by the outgoing minister, together with the incoming minister and ten other citizens of the place. The municipal authorities, under penalty of dismissal and fine not exceeding 1,000 pesos[1] for each breach, shall be responsible for the exact performance of this provision; they shall keep a register of the places of worship and another of the caretakers thereof, subject to the same penalty as above provided. The municipal authorities shall likewise give notice to the Department of the Interior, through the State Governor, of any permission to open to the public use a new place of worship, as well as of any change in the caretakers. Gifts of personalty may be received in the interior of places of public worship.

Under no conditions shall studies carried on in institutions devoted to the professional training of ministers of religious creeds be given credit or granted any other dispensation of privilege which shall have for its purpose the accrediting of the said studies in official institutions. Any authority violating this provision shall be punished criminally, and all such dispensation of privilege shall be null and void, and shall invalidate wholly and entirely the professional degree toward the obtaining of which the infraction of this provision may in any way have contributed.

No periodical publication which either by reason of its programme, its title or merely by its general tendencies, is of a religious character, shall comment upon any political affairs of the nation, nor publish any information regarding the acts of the authorities of the country or of private individuals in so far as the latter have to do with public affairs.

Every kind of political association whose name shall bear any word or any indication relating to any religious belief is hereby forbidden. No assemblies of any political character shall be held within places of public worship.

No minister of any religious creed may inherit, either on his own behalf or by means of a trustee or otherwise, any real property occupied by any association for religious propaganda or religious or charitable purposes. Ministers of religious creeds are incapable legally of inheriting by will from ministers of the

[1] Equivalent to about £100 at peace-time rates.

same religious creed or from any private individual to whom they are not related by blood within the fourth degree.

All real and personal property pertaining to the clergy or to religious institutions shall be governed, in so far as their acquisition by private parties is concerned, by Article 27 of the Constitution.

No trial by jury shall ever be granted for the infraction of any of the preceding provisions.

II

PRESIDENTIAL DECREE INTERPRETING THE FOREGOING ARTICLES AND PRESCRIBING PENALTIES FOR VIOLATION

[*This decree was signed by President Calles on June 14th of this year, in virtue of special powers conferred on him by a law of January 7th. The decree was officially promulgated on June 21st and came into force on July 31st. A joint pastoral of protest, signed by all the Archbishops and Bishops of Mexico, was published on July 27th. From this pastoral we take the following extract:—*

"*Therefore, confronting the impossibility of practising our sacred ministry under the conditions imposed by this decree and having consulted His Holiness the Pope and received his ratification, we order that after July 31st, until we order otherwise, all religious services requiring the intervention of priests shall be suspended in all the churches of the country.*"]

Art. 1.—Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico. Offenders against this regulation shall be punished by a fine of 500 pesos or, in default of this, by imprisonment for not more than 15 days. Moreover, the Federal Executive can, if it thinks fitting, expel immediately the offending foreign priest or minister.

Art. 2.—In regard to these penalties it should be known that a person exercises the ministry of a creed when he performs religious acts, or administers the sacraments recognised by the creed to which he belongs, or delivers doctrinal sermons in public, or is similarly active in any form of religious proselytism.

Art. 3.—The instruction to be given in the official educational establishments shall be secular, as also the primary, elementary and higher education given in private establishments. Offenders against this order shall be punished by a fine of 500 pesos or, in default of this, by imprisonment for not more than 15 days. In case of a second offence, the offender shall be punished by major arrest and by a fine of the second class, without prejudice to

the order closing the educational establishment on behalf of the authorities.

Art. 4.—No religious society or minister of any creed can open or direct a school of primary instruction. Those responsible for the violation of this precept shall be punished by a fine of 500 pesos or, failing this, by imprisonment for not more than 15 days, without prejudice to the order immediately closing the educational establishment on behalf of the authorities.

Art. 5.—Private primary schools can only be opened subject to official supervision. Offenders against this regulation shall be punished by a fine of 500 pesos or, failing this, by imprisonment for not more than 15 days.

Art. 6.—The State cannot permit that any contract, pact or convention should be entered into, having for its object the diminution, loss or irrevocable sacrifice of personal liberty, whether for purposes of work or education or religious vows; consequently the laws do not permit the establishment of monastic orders, whatever be the name or purpose of their institution.

For the purposes of this Article, those religious societies are held to be monastic orders, in which individual members live subject to a fixed rule, by means of promises or vows, whether temporary or perpetual, and owing obedience to one or more superiors; even when all the individual members live apart.

The monastic orders or convents already established shall be dissolved by the authorities, after previous identification and description of the persons so discharged. Should it be proved that the persons so discharged have come together again in a community after their dissolution, they shall be punished by imprisonment for one or two years. In such cases the superiors, priors, prelates, directors or persons who have hierarchial rank in the organisation or direction of the community shall be punished by imprisonment for six years.

In each of these cases, women shall undergo two-thirds of the prescribed penalty.

Art. 7.—Persons who induce or persuade a minor to renounce his liberty by virtue of a religious vow, shall be liable to the penalty of major arrest and a fine of the second class, even when there exists between them the bond of kinship. If the person so induced be already of age, the penalty shall be minor arrest and a fine of the first class.

Art. 8.—Any person who, in the exercise of the ministry or priestly functions of any religious creed, publicly incites his readers or hearers, either by written statements or sermons or speeches,

to disavow the civil institutions or to disobey the law or the authorities or their orders, shall be punished by imprisonment for 6 years and a fine of the second class.

Art. 9.—If, as the direct or immediate result of the provocation mentioned in the preceding Article, less than ten persons intervene and use force, intimidation, threats, physical or moral violence against the public authorities or their agents, or make use of arms, each of them shall be punished by imprisonment for one year and by a fine of the second class. Priests or ministers of religion who are the authors of such provocation are liable to imprisonment for 6 years in addition to further penalties of the first and fourth class, according to the discretion of the judges, should the disorder be deemed such as to deserve greater penalties; in which case they shall be applied.

If the persons who take part in the disorder number ten or more, action shall be taken according to Articles 1123 and 1125 of the existing Penal Code.

Art. 10.—Ministers of religion may no longer, in public or private meetings, or in acts of worship or religious propaganda, criticise the fundamental laws of the country, of particular authorities, or of the government in general. Offenders shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of from 1 to 5 years.

Art. 11.—Ministers of religion may not organise themselves for political purposes. Offenders against this regulation shall be punished by minor arrest and a fine of the first class, without prejudice to the immediate dissolution of the association on behalf of the authorities. In case of a second offence, the corresponding penalty shall be major arrest and a fine of the second class.

Art. 12.—No notice shall suffice to revalidate, grant a dispensation or give any other license that has for effect the recognition, in official courses, of studies made in any establishment intended for the professional instruction of ministers of religion. Offenders against this regulation shall be deprived of the office which they hold, and shall remain disqualified from holding any similar office for a period of from 1 to 3 years.

Dispensations or licenses mentioned in the first part of this Article shall be null and void, and shall carry with them cancellation of the official title for the sake of which this order has been violated.

Art. 13.—Periodical publications which are religious or simply open in their support of any definite religious creed, either in their programme or their title, may not comment on subjects of political or national interest, nor give news concerning acts of the public

authorities, or of private persons directly connected with the action of public institutions. In case of disobedience to this order, the director of the periodical shall be punished by major arrest and a fine of the second class.

Art. 14.—If the periodical has no director, legal responsibility rests with the author of the political comment or news referred to in the preceding Article; if the author is unknown, the responsibility rests with the manager or editor or owner of the periodical. In case of second offences against Articles 13 and 14 of this decree, measures shall be taken for the final suppression of the periodical.

Art. 15.—It is strictly forbidden to form any kind of political group the title of which contains any word or indication implying connection with any religious creed. Should this order be violated, those persons who form the board of direction or who are the leaders of the group shall be punished by major arrest or by a fine of the second class. In every case the authorities shall see that all organisations of the character described in this Article shall be immediately dissolved.

Art. 16.—No meetings of a political nature may be held in churches intended for religious worship. Should the incumbent of such a church directly organise such a meeting or invite it or take part in it, he shall be punished by major arrest or by a fine of the second class. If the incumbent simply tolerates the meeting or connives at it without taking active part in it, he shall be punished by minor arrest and a fine of the first class. In both cases the Federal Executive may in addition order the temporary or permanent closure of the church.

Art. 17.—All religious acts of public worship must be celebrated only within the churches, which shall be always under the supervision of the authorities. The celebration of an act of public worship outside the precincts of a church involves legal responsibility for the organisers and the officiating ministers, who shall be punished with major arrest and a fine of the second class.

Art. 18.—Outside of the churches no minister of religion, nor any person of either sex professing that creed, may make use of special or distinctive dress, under pain of a fine of 500 pesos or, failing this, imprisonment for not more than 15 days. In case of a second offence the offender is liable to major arrest and a fine of the second class.

Art. 19.—The incumbent of a church must, within a month of the date on which this law comes into force, or within a month of the day on which he was appointed incumbent of the church,

give notice as required in §11 of Article 130 of the Constitution. Failure to give such notice within the prescribed time renders the incumbent liable to a fine of 500 pesos or, failing this, to imprisonment for not more than 15 days. Moreover, the Secretary of State shall order the church to be closed until the requirements of the Constitution have been satisfied.

Art. 20.—Legal proceedings may be taken with a view to denouncing all faults and crimes mentioned in the present law.

Art. 21.—Religious societies known as Churches, whatever be their creed, shall in no case have power to acquire, possess or administer real property or charges upon it; all property so held at present, either directly or by an intermediary, shall become the property of the nation, and legal action may be taken with a view to denouncing property so held. Persons who conceal property or charges mentioned in this Article shall be punished by imprisonment for one or two years. Those who make use of an intermediary are liable to the same penalty.

Art. 22.—Churches intended for public worship are the property of the nation, represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine what churches shall remain affected to their original purpose. Episcopal residences, presbyteries, seminaries, asylums or colleges of religious societies, convents or any other building which has been built for the administration, propagation or teaching of any religious creed, shall become immediately and of full right the direct property of the nation, and shall be used solely for the public services of the Federation or of the States in their respective jurisdictions.

Art. 23.—The Federal Authorities are principally concerned with the execution of this decree. The authorities of the states and municipalities are their auxiliaries, and therefore equally responsible for the execution of any provision of this decree which may be within their jurisdiction.

Art. 24.—Municipal authorities who permit or tolerate the violation of any of the Articles 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this decree shall be punished by their administrative superior, either by an admonition or a fine of 100 pesos or suspension from their office for a month. In case of a second offence, the penalty shall be deprivation or disqualification from all public offices or posts for the term of 5 years.

Art. 25.—Municipal authorities who have been notified of cases provided for in Articles 8, 9, 10, 15 and 16 of this decree, or who do not immediately proceed to take the required action, shall be deemed accomplices or abettors.

Art. 26.—Authorities who do not proceed to the immediate dissolution of political societies formed by ministers of religion shall be punished administratively, either by an admonition or a fine of 100 pesos or by suspension from their office for one month. In case of a second offence, they shall be disqualified from all public offices for a term of 5 years.

Art. 27.—The agents of the Public Ministry are charged with the duty of denouncing all offences against Article 13 of this decree. Negligence or failure shall be punished by withdrawal of pay, a fine of 100 pesos, suspension from office for one month or dismissal.

Art. 28.—Municipal authorities who permit or tolerate the celebration of any religious act of public worship outside the precincts of a church, shall be punished by a fine of 100 pesos or suspension from their office for one month. In case of a second offence, they shall be dismissed.

Art. 29.—The municipal authorities shall undertake the execution of Article 18 of this law, under pain of withdrawal of their salary, a fine of 100 pesos or suspension from their office for one month. In case of a second offence, they shall be dismissed.

Art. 30.—The same authorities shall keep a register of the churches and another of the incumbents of the churches, and an authentic copy of both lists shall be sent to the Secretary of State within one month of the date on which this decree comes into force, or within one month of later registrations. Failure to keep this register shall be punished by a fine of 100 pesos, or by dismissal.

Art. 32.—Municipal authorities who permit or tolerate the opening of a new church without previous notification given to the Secretary of State, either directly or through the Governor of the State or Territory, shall be punished by suspension from their office for 6 months or by dismissal, without prejudice to the order immediately closing the church.

Art. 33.—Municipal authorities who do not give to the Secretary of State, within the term of one month or through the prescribed channels, notice of the change of the incumbent of a church, shall be punished by an admonition, a fine of 100 pesos and suspension from their office for one month. In case of a second offence, they shall be dismissed.

Given in the Palace of the Federal Executive Power, in the City of Mexico, the 14th June, 1926. P. Elias Calles.

REVIEWS

Celtica

CATALOGUE OF IRISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Vol. I, by Standish H. O'Grady; Vol. II, by Robin Flower. London: The British Museum. 1926. £2 net per volume.

THE first volume of this catalogue in its incomplete form, lacking the title page and preface and some thirty pages at the end, has been known and loved by Irish scholars for many years. So much of it was in print by 1892, and a limited number of copies were sold unbound "for the use of scholars."

O'Grady began his task in 1886, at a date when there was still much to learn about Old Irish grammar, while the period from the twelfth century to the seventeenth was an almost uncharted sea, so little of the cotemporary literature of that time had been printed or translated. Further, there was pessimism abroad about the future of Irish studies, particularly as to the more modern side, a pessimism which is reflected in O'Grady's excuse offered by him for printing excerpts from the Annals of Boyle, together with his own normalization and an English rendering—*viz.*," the certainty that such passages, if not explained now, will in the future offer some insoluble linguistic puzzles" (Vol. I, p. 5).

Indubitably there is no section of Irish literature dealt with in O'Grady's volume in which he did not make some clearing of the way for later students by citation, translation and commentary. The number and length of his excerpts and renderings, the fullness and liveliness of his commentary add nothing to his volume as a mere catalogue, but they are self-justified by their inestimable scholastic and literary value. We may say of his plan, as he said himself of his method of editing Irish in *Silva Gadelica*, it was one not suitable for all editors. The volume is not merely a catalogue or even a work of scholarship; embracing both of these, it is an unclassifiable piece of pure literature. O'Grady was a man of remarkable genius; his learning was wide, and he wielded his scholarship lightly and effectively, with an inimitable literary style, Elizabethan in rhythm, often pungent in flavour, and never without distinction. He seems to have been almost incapable of penning a characterless sentence. The Memoir which Mr. Flower prefixes to the second volume adds some interesting matter to the obituary notices by Miss Hull[1] and Dr. Norman Moore, but we hope some day for a full and worthy account of the life and labours of this great Irish scholar.

[1] *Studies*, March, 1916.

Mr. Robin Flower, the editor of the second volume, in which some six score of manuscripts are very thoroughly described, is a poet and a man of learning. His translations of Irish love-poetry have delighted not only "mere English" readers, but those whose knowledge of the originals renders them more critical; and he has long been a recognised authority on the continental sources of Irish mediaeval literature. Save their external uniformity and the fact that each deals with a portion of the same collection of manuscripts there is no apparent connection between his volume and O'Grady's. The plan of Vol. II is distinct, and in it the typographical arrangement of Vol. I, in which the Irish is consistently and usefully printed in italics, is, most unhappily, departed from. Neither is there any attempt in the Addenda to bring O'Grady's volume into line in the matter of bibliographical reference, or to correct any of the errors in that volume. The decision to leave O'Grady's volume alone is not to be criticised, but the fact that two volumes of one catalogue, published simultaneously, should not only vary so far in date of compilation, but be as it were alien to each other, calls for some comment. Mr. Flower has rightly abstained from O'Grady's practice, no longer justifiable, of giving lengthy citations from the manuscripts; on the other hand he has been prodigal of bibliographical references, biographical notices of authors and scribes, and information about sources and relations of texts, giving copious references to Zimmer, Thurneysen, Plummer and others. His volume is in fact a veritable forest of information, in which the enquirer will often feel a little bewildered, so luxuriant is the foliage, so seductive though often obscure, the bypaths down which the compiler would seem to tempt him. Not only has Mr. Flower, out of the wealth of his learning, provided introductions for many unpublished texts, but he has in several cases described texts long available in print. Thus his volume is an important, one might say a formidable, contribution to Irish scholarship, for it is certain that few editors of Irish texts in the future will be well advised to ignore it, whether they agree with Mr. Flower's statements or not. There will be not a few, however, who would gladly have seen the bibliographical and exegetical matter, much of which is not pertinent to a catalogue of MSS., judiciously reduced, and the acquired space occupied by an index to the contents of the manuscripts. As it is the Index and a General Introduction are reserved for a third volume. Thus those who have already paid four pounds for the catalogue will have to disburse a further sum before it can be of much use as a book of reference.

E. K.

THE BARDIC POEMS OF TADHG DALL O hUIGINN. Vol. II. Edited and translated by Eleanor Knott. London Published for Irish Texts Society by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. 1926.

IN some recent books one occasionally sees remarks of a contemptuous character regarding Bardic poetry; it is decried as being formalistic, lacking in higher poetic qualities and altogether unworthy of attention. To express any appreciation of Bardic poetry is the right of a very few persons, the few who have read it and can understand it. These scholars would not, even as regards the question of inspiration, be quite so sweeping as the critics we refer to; they certainly would have much to say in favour of Bardic poetry; much, too, which ought to persuade Irish students of the present day to give it a very special attention. It is the chief—practically the only—kind of poetry which was produced by the Irish-speaking nation for about four hundred years—a fact which by itself should recommend its study, quite apart from its intrinsic excellences or defects. It is, moreover, the product of a large number of highly cultivated and earnestly professional poets, who worked at it for some six hundred years; indeed, it is the one form of Irish literature, prose or poetry, on which any considerable care and labour have ever been expended.

The Bardic poems are, in consequence, highly finished works of art, distinguished by good taste, correctness of form, niceness of expression, variety of language, abundance of figures of speech, terseness and many other qualities which go to the formation of good literary style. If there be little—and there is more than is generally thought—of the lyric qualities to be found in them, such as love of nature and spontaneity of emotion, there was little of these qualities in the English poets of the Pope and Dryden epoch, and who would allege this as a reason for not reading—or even for not printing—their work? Indeed, owing to their characteristic qualities, the Bardic poems are just these which should be most diligently studied by Irish scholars to-day, if our language, either in prose or poetry, is ever to develop according to the canons which rule every cultivated language of the world.

For this—and many other—reasons Miss Knott's Poems of Tadhg Dall O hUiginn—the second and concluding volume of which has just appeared—should be welcomed and studied. It is all that we should have expected from the scholar that Miss Knott is, a model *editio princeps*—exhaustive, accurate, appreciative and thoroughly indexed. We have, however, in it, not merely a perfect presentation of the work of Tadhg Dall, but a

contribution of high value to the study of the literature and, therefore, of the history of Ireland. In a long Introduction Miss Knott gives a full account (furnished with copious references) of the Bards, their profession, their training, the circumstances of their lives, their influence on the world about them; and also a very thorough analysis of the grammatical and idiomatic characteristics of their language.

We hope that the book will be followed by others of its kind, introducing to us the works of at least the chief among the large number of distinguished Bardic writers. Their editing is long overdue. A dozen years ago some excuse might have been alleged for this fresh example of Ireland being "incuriosa suorum"; bardic poetry was not easy to understand, and little help was available for students who wished to study it. But now there is no longer any defence for leaving this important part of our national literature to be hidden in manuscripts. Professor Bergin's examples of it published in STUDIES and *The Irish Review*, Father Paul Walsh's published in *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts*, Father McKenna's in *The Contention of the Bards*, *Poems of Aonghus O Dálaigh*, *Dán Dé* and *The Irish Monthly* (1919-26), and now finally this most comprehensive work of Miss Knott have made the work of would-be editors comparatively easy.

X.

CATALOGUE OF THE IRISH MSS. IN THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY. Fasc. I. By Thomas F. O'Rahilly, M.A. 8vo. pp. 130. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, Hodges, Figgis and Co. London: Williams and Norgate. 1926. 5s.

THE first fasciculus of the Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy is a small portion of what promises to be an extremely important work. The plan is methodical and concise, the editor confining himself strictly to his task of describing the manuscripts and their contents. The typographical arrangement, which enables the reader to find his objective with a minimum of labour, is admirable.

The number of manuscripts described is fifty-four, comprising a representative selection from codices of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, illustrating poetry of different schools and periods, ancient and modern romance (including some original tales), grammar, hagiography, devotional literature of various kinds, etc. No medical manuscripts are included in this fasciculus. Presumably these will be treated of in a separate

series, as Irish medical texts are rarely bound up with other matter; while poetry and prose of other kinds usually occur in miscellaneous collections.

The descriptions of the manuscripts include in each case all pertinent information to be had as to date, scribe and provenance, and provide much sound ground-work for the future historian of Irish literature. It is to be hoped that the work so well begun will go forward steadily and rapidly to its completion. The price of the fasciculus is remarkably low, all things considered.

E. K.

DANTA GRADHA. Tomás O Rathile do bhailigh is do chóraigh. An tarna córú é ceartaithe agus méadaithe: Cló Ollscoile Chorcaighe; Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Éireann. 1926. Cúig scilling glan.

AN té le nar thaithn na dánta deasa do sholáthair An t-Ollamh O Rathaile dhó sa chéad chur amach den leabhar so, gheobhaidh sé san tarna ceann so aris iad, agus a ndá oiread eile curtha leo. Sé leathanach ar chaogaid do bhí san tsean-leabhar. Tá céad is caoga éigin sa chur-amach so, sin agus gan ann acht an téacs.

Is fiú na dánta so ní h-amháin a léigheamh acht a rinn-fheitheamh fós, ar a n-ealadhain, agus a gcur go beacht i meabhair, ar a mbinneas. Agus dá mbeath an pobal Gaodhlach mar ba chóir, bheadh éileamh chomh mór san ar an leabhar so nár ghábh' fanamhaint deich mbliadna leis an gcéad chur-amach eile. In alt na h-uaire, ámh, tá dearmad nó claon nó mío-thuigsint éigin ag cur a lán deagh-Ghaedheal ó léigheamh deagh-Ghaedhilge. Is é is dóigh leo, dar leat, go ngoilleann an léigheamh ar an gcaint, ar chuma dhoiléir, dhiamhair, dho-thuigse éigin. Comhrádh le cairrig is eadh bheith ag tafaint ar a leithéidí aon Ghaedhilg, dá fheabhas, do léigheamh. Acht an airigheann tú leat mé, a léightheóir, a chroidhe, a dhá luaithe is churir-se an galar buile seo dhíot, ceannaigh Dánta Grádha, agus geallaim duit do lán croidhe d'aoibhneas ins gach uile dhán de.

Creideamhaint mhór an leabhar dá lucht clóbhuailte is dá lucht foillsithe, óir tá an cló (Rómhánach) go soiléir, soiléighte ann. Is mór an truagh, ámh, nach clúdach éadaigh do cuireadh air.

MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

Classics

PSYCHE. By Erwin Rohde. Translated from the Eighth Edition by W. B. Hillis, M.A. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 25s. net.

THE first German edition of this famous book appeared in 1893 and the eighth in 1920. It should have been translated many years ago. Few books have been more influential; but its doctrines have percolated into so many other books and are so familiar at second hand that it will not arouse in its English form the admiration that is its due. It is regrettable also that German editions since 1898 have left the book as it was when finally edited by its author, and have not given any indication of the many advances since made, or criticisms of the various theses it contains. Its value to the student therefore resembles the value of some classic English work like Grote or Gibbon. Nevertheless all English-speaking students of the history of religion will be glad to possess it.

Rohde's main and most famous thesis will be found in his opening chapters. It is that the curious rationalism, lack of other-worldliness, and delight in the vividness of life on earth which are so marked in the Homeric poems, do not give a real impression of primitive Greek beliefs regarding the soul. We can get such a picture, according to Rohde, in certain parts of the poems only. The poets—Rohde of course held to the multiple authorship of Homer—give us here and there fleeting glimpses of an earlier state of things, such as we can gather also from Mycenaean remains, wherein a belief in immortality and a worship of the dead are prominent. Homer, therefore, represents a break in Greek religious evolution, which later returned, through the worship of heroes, and especially under the influence of the Dionysiac invasion from Thrace and its kindred movement, Orphism, to something approaching earlier beliefs. The book then goes on to examine these phases, and with them such cognate matters as the Eleusinian Mysteries, the legend of the Isles of the Blest, chthonic cults, etc. It next traces the development of belief in immortality through Ionian philosophy, Pindar, and the Attic Drama, till its culmination in Plato, of whose mystic synthesis Rohde gives us a fine study. In a final chapter he follows the later history of the belief till the rise of Christianity.

Rohde's views and method marked a great advance in his own time, but are of course, while still as a whole sound, subject to correction in the light of later knowledge. Archaeology has

added greatly to what we know of pre-Homeric religion, and has served to emphasise, in a different manner from Rohde's, the singularity of Homer, which is probably personal and not the characteristic of an age. The growing belief in the unity of Homer has served to put his religion in a new light. Rohde's position as to the influence of Dionysos at Delphi, and his belief in the lateness of Dionysiac and Orphic origins is by no means universally accepted. In regard to Plato he is, as with Homer, too much under the ban of German nineteenth century doctrine, which is not so powerful as it was. He deprives the Platonic Socrates of nearly all historical character, and is thus led to the truly strange conclusion that there is not "the most distant approach to a belief in the undying vitality of the soul" in the Apology.

The translation is very well done, though there are inevitably some small errors in printing, such as "Choephorai" in p. 424. Rohde's style, warmly praised by German scholars, strikes the busy non-literary reader as a little florid and repetitive, and the translator may be congratulated for his very readable version of a difficult book. M. T.

ARISTOTLE. By John Burnet. British Academy Annual Lecture on a Master-Mind. London: Milford. 1s. net.

PLATON. Par Abel Hermant. Collection des Heures Antiques. Paris: Grasset. 1926. 9 francs.

THESE two little books treat of similar subjects in a very dissimilar way. Professor Burnet's lecture is a scholarly discussion of recent views on Aristotle, called forth by Professor Werner Jaeger's *Aristoteles*. The latter has put the study of Aristotle's work on a new basis by establishing a clear chronology and distinguishing between three periods in his development, as well as advancing considerably our knowledge of his earlier formal writings such as the *Eudemus*, the *Protrepticus*, and the treatise *On Philosophy*. Professor Burnet comments on and expands Dr. Jaeger's views, and discusses among other interesting subjects the Ionian associations which led Aristotle to abandon mathematics for biology, the great Ionian science; the composition of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, a work of the philosopher's old age, in which Professor Burnet sees a strong tendency towards a glorification of the contemplative life; and that of the *Metaphysics*, which he holds to consist of notes for lectures delivered at very different dates, and to prove "more than anything else that Aristotle's philosophy was never completed." Both scholars of course are agreed in seeing

in the works of Aristotle which we possess lecture-notes belonging to his last period, when he was head of the Lyceum, and in the belief that the works which Cicero admired were formal compositions of his earliest and most "Socratic" phase. The lecture will be found very stimulating by Aristotelian students, and has all the clarity of Professor Burnet's other writings.

M. Abel Hermant belongs to a different school. He has been chosen by the well-known publisher of M. Maurois' "Ariel" to write on Plato the first volume of a series to which men of letters—novelists, dramatists, and critics—will contribute, without any apparatus of learning, and which will discuss writers of antiquity in such a manner as to appeal to the general public. M. Hermant rather disarms the critic in a foreword which disclaims any profound knowledge of Greek or philosophy, and deprecates the "terrible et méprisant sourire des philologues," one of whom he quotes as having said "nous possédons toute l'oeuvre de Platon et même quelque chose de plus." This makes one fear that he is of a type with which we are familiar in this country, which dogmatises very boldly on literatures about which it knows very little; but in France they send their young people to the Lycée, and M. Hermant certainly learned enough at his to be able to practise a very successful Socratic irony. He knows more about Plato than he would pretend, and he has a most elegant and charming style. His book is not a character-sketch of Plato, but rather aims at bringing out by quotation and comparison Plato's literary methods. There is more of Socrates in it than Plato, and the first chapter, in which he recounts all the legends about Plato's early years in a manner reminiscent of the Celtic Twilight, is the least successful, at any rate to the *philologue*, who attaches more importance to truth than to style.

On the whole, it must be said that M. Hermant's achievement is slight. He does, in his later chapters, where he discusses Plato's dramatic technique and quotes long extracts to illustrate his power of depicting character, bring out some important aspects of the great teacher's style. But style is the least important part of Plato, and M. Hermant has nothing to say of his personality except to quote myths, nor of his message, except to linger aimlessly over every passage that has to do with "l'amour." In spite of his irony, the stylist in M. Hermant does not qualify him to beat the *philologues* on their own ground. M. T.

Economics

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM. By R. G. Hawtrey. London: Longmans. 1926. 10s. 6d. net.

THE economic problem according to Mr. Hawtrey is the problem of directing the joint action of human beings towards a common end. One solution of the problem is to be found in the principle of individualism which attempts to give to each man the fruits of his own efforts. This solution is the one which has been generally adopted in modern times, but it is becoming more and more apparent every day that it is not completely satisfactory. Critics of the individualist system are arising on all sides, but it is doubtful if any more temperate and at the same time more incisive critic than Mr. Hawtrey has yet appeared in the field.

His principal objection to the individualist solution of the economic problem is that it depends for its validity on utilitarianism, which assumes that utility is the ground of the consumer's preference for one thing over another, whereas in fact that preference is largely determined by considerations of taste into which utility does not enter. The result of this method of making preferences is that the satisfactions attained by the consumer are not necessarily coincident with his welfare, or, in other words, that market value and ethical value frequently disagree. The strict classical economists would have refused to consider this divergence as objectionable or even as relevant; but, as Mr. Hawtrey points out, the case was given away by J. S. Mill when he admitted the distinction between higher and lower classes of pleasure. It is obvious that the aggregate of satisfactions obtained in an individualist society is not an aggregate of welfare, because it includes good satisfactions which are welfare and bad satisfactions which are the reverse; the failure of the individualist system to realise an ethically valuable society arises partly from the imperfection of human judgment in selecting objects of consumption and partly from the inequality of incomes.

The next question which Mr. Hawtrey discusses is how far the State can remedy this evil condition of affairs. He shows that statesmen in the past have aimed almost as little at welfare as the individual consumer. Governments have always framed their economic policy with a view to the development of national power, and the various policies of the last two hundred years, whether mercantilist or free trade, have been equally directed towards national aggrandisement as a preparation for war. Questions of social welfare, it is true, have not been altogether neglected and have been receiving an increasing share of attention

in modern times owing to the growth of democracy, but even to-day considerations of welfare give way to considerations of power. Thus both the individual and the State are engaged in the pursuit of false ends. The former aims at money-making and the latter at national power. The true end of society should be the attainment of the welfare of the citizens.

The attainment of this welfare is the professed object of socialism. Mr. Hawtrey temperately and fairly examines the pretensions of the different socialistic schools, and comes to the conclusion that any general method of collectivism would break under the strain of its own weight. He points out, however, that many measures of a socialistic character can be defended, not as steps towards general collectivism, but as necessary modifications of a society which still remains predominantly individualistic. Such cases arise where the play of the market fails to provide for the needs of the consumer, as for example, in such matters as medical treatment, educational facilities and houses for the working classes. Other services may have to be nationalised owing to various circumstances rendering their private operation uneconomic; such industries as coal-mining and railways may in certain cases be more advantageously conducted by the State than by the individual. Each of these cases, Mr. Hawtrey insists, must be considered on its merits without any blinding prejudice either for or against the socialistic solution. One question with which he deals in detail is that of the rival claims of taxation and saving on the national income. Here he concludes, characteristically, that the advantages of accumulation must be weighed against the benefits to be secured from taxation, and the course providing the greater welfare to the community must be followed.

It is impossible in a short space to do more than indicate some of the main topics dealt with by Mr. Hawtrey. His book is a most important one and should certainly be read by every student of economics. By analysing the conduct of the consumer in the light of modern psychology Mr. Hawtrey has done for economics what Mr. Graham Wallas has done for politics; and, by substituting ethical for merely market tests of value, he has rescued the science from the charge of moral indifference with which it is frequently accused. The intrusion of psychology and ethics into economic discussion, far from lifting the subject further into the clouds of abstraction, brings it into closer touch with the facts and interests of practical life. The true objection to the "economic man" of the classical economists was that he was a creature of unreal psychology and no morals. G. O'B.

LE MONDE COMMUNISTE. Par Gustave Gautherot Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Editions Spes. 1925. 12 fr.

To what extent Bolshevism has made progress in England is a question not easy to answer and not often examined. From such investigations, however, as have been made, for instance by Mr. Shadwell last year, the conclusion would seem to be that Bolshevism is not yet within measurable distance of being able to cause any serious disturbance. At the same time, the opinion seems well-founded that a large portion of the working-class is more or less infected with it, and that this portion is continually increasing. It was probably their conviction of this increase which caused the government in the great strike to raise the cry of the country in danger, and to declare war on Bolshevism in so dramatic a fashion with troops and tanks and armoured cars and hasty arming of volunteer regiments. The purpose was, plainly, to force the issue before Moscow had seriously affected the general body of labour. It was probably wise strategy. Many labourers were, no doubt, forced to stand by the Red Flag against what they considered an arrogant declaration of war on labour by a capitalist government. On the other hand, there were certainly vast numbers of workmen, including professed socialists, who shrank from supporting what was so forcibly represented to them by the press and politicians as an attack on the nation's life. Though in England there are timid people who look for Bolshevists under their beds at night, probably the majority of middle-class folk are—even after the excitement of the strike—inclined to regard the Red danger as rather remote.

In France such placidity is rarer. Bolshevism there is a more urgent danger. To prevent French people from closing their eyes to the danger is the object of M. Gautherot's book, a book packed with facts without a word of rhetoric, and based on official figures of the French administration and on authorised Bolshevik documents. Five chapters, less than half the book, are devoted to the doctrine, philosophy and religion—for they have a kind of religion—of Bolsheviks, to their organisation in Russia, and their propaganda and conquests in the various countries of the world; the greater part of the book, consisting of nine chapters, contains an examination of their success in France. A few of his figures are significant. For instance, the Conseil Général of the Seine, representing Paris and its suburbs, has in consequence of the last elections 18 Communists, 19 members of the *SFIO* (Second International), 22 other Socialists of various hues; that is, it contains 59 more or less declared adversaries of the present

social order, and only 61 defenders of it—these including the Republicans of the Left! The Suburbs of Paris are particularly affected. On a coloured map representing them according to their political colours, about half of the districts North and South of the city are in Russian red, while, if one takes account of the extreme, but still not Communist, Socialists, the whole suburban area of Paris is of a deep red hue. In view of the centralised character of French government, and of the traditional power of Paris over the provinces, these facts are of the gravest import. Among the larger provincial towns, too, there are many with strong Bolshevik minorities.

Particularly interesting is the description given by M. Gautherot of the machinery which Moscow has evolved with extraordinary ingenuity, and works with frantic zeal, for driving the Red virus into every part of the labouring population, skilled and unskilled, rural and urban, men, women and children, and into every important working-class institution, trade unions, insurance societies, co-operatives, clubs, etc. Both open propaganda and secret penetration are employed, the latter with specially disquieting effects in the factories, where the real leaders, always instructed to be exemplary in external conduct, can hardly ever be detected.

The general conclusion to be drawn from M. Gautherot's authoritative book is that, as long as peaceful social, political and military conditions prevail in France, Bolshevism will not for a long time to come be able to cause any great upheaval; but that in days of trouble it would have, as it had in Russia, its chance—and a good one. The greater part of labour opinion, though not at present Bolshevist, might, given certain conditions, be driven into it. In times of excitement "simpliste" cries—and the Bolshevist watch-words are simple in the extreme—always carry the day, not the formulae complicated with "althoughs" and "as far as possible" etc., such as the less thorough-going socialist writers have elaborated. L. McK.

Education

ON EDUCATION, especially in Early Childhood. By Bertrand Russell. London: Allen and Unwin. 1926. Pp. 254. 6s. net.

Mr. Bertrand Russell's views on modern public problems, of a national social order, have been well known in Europe and in America for the past ten years: they emerge frequently enough

in the course of this treatise, which is composed in a neat and unpretentious style, approaching the character of a confidential talk with his readers. No inconsiderable part of his text, however, is devoted to the careful observation of children's ways and motives, and here he is as a rule very happy both in statement and in argument. An excellent instance of this gift is to be found in the chapter on play and fancy (pp. 97-107), which is a felicitous blend of description of a small boy's ways, with acute yet kindly criticism of the play-theories of K. Groos and W. Stern. Mr. Russell indeed rivals even Stern as a critical dissector of child activities, taken in the single sample. The same commendable gifts are used in the chapters on Importance of other Children, and Affection and Sympathy. Not so worthy of approval are chapters on Fear, Punishment, Sex Education.

It is only to be expected that in his comments on religious motives and aims in Education, Mr. Russell would present his views in their least attractive aspects. This attitude of mind peers out in almost every chapter he has written: one brief sample of his standpoint may be cited here.

> The Jesuits, like the modern Japanese, made the mistake of subordinating education to the welfare of an institution—the Catholic Church. They were not concerned primarily with the good of the particular pupil, but with making him a means to the good of the Church. If we accept their theology, we cannot blame them: to save souls from hell is more important than any merely terrestrial concern. But those who do not accept this dogma will judge Jesuit education by its results. These results, it is true, were sometimes quite as undesired as Uriah Heep: Voltaire was a product of Jesuit methods. But on the whole, and for a long time, the intended results were achieved: the Counter-Reformation, and the collapse of Protestantism in France, must be largely attributed to their efforts. To achieve these ends, they made art sentimental, thought superficial, and morals loose; in the end, the French Revolution was needed to sweep away the harm they had done. In education, their *crime* was that they were not actuated by love of their pupils, but by ulterior ends.

It would be difficult to accumulate a larger number of slices of false history in as short a space as is taken up by Mr. Russell's paragraph. But even if all historical statements by him were revised so as to be as true as they are now untrue, the basic *mistake* of the opening sentence, which becomes a *crime* at the close, would remain. Mr. Russell demands that all educators shall have human nature to be its own end, in this life, in and for itself. This basic error of his pervades all his writing, and distorts many of his most telling pieces of observation, comment, argument. No Christian could accept his initial postulate: and so it comes to pass that even those who are shrewdly hit by his commentaries, can elude all damage from the blow. They can demur on the

grounds of Mr. Russell's philosophical, social, and cultural delusions. The philosophical delusion has just been pointed out: the others are quite as pervasive.

Hence his serious allegation (in a footnote) that Dr. Thomas Arnold's pupils mostly suffered from adenoids, and so were intellectually inert, will fail of its effect (p. 34). The aristocratic Boarding Schools of England are criticised much as they were at the British Association Meeting at Oxford, August 10, 1926 (pp. 232-3) and with much justice; but they, too, will have a clear route of escape. So, too, will the cult of athletics in England (p. 105), Mathematical studies at Cambridge (p. 242), and even the War Office: "If you wish to persuade the War Office that a modicum of military knowledge is desirable in the higher commands—but no, not even fear of defeat will prevail in this case, so strong is the 'gentlemanly tradition.'" (p. 106). And they can argue, too, that Mr. Russell leaves the curriculum practically intact (p. 218), while as between "useful" and "useless" studies, "the real issue" (p. 21), yet an "unreal controversy" (p.19), he concludes (p.26) that "we must preserve the balance by means of compromises." So even Mr. Bertrand Russell is, after all, typically English. T. C.

GEOGRAPHY IN SCHOOL. By James Fairgrieve, M.A. London: University of London Press. 1926. Pp. vii., 364. 7s. 6d. net.

The rapid advance of Geography as a school subject in England has caused a complete revision of methods of Geographical training for teachers. Professor Fairgrieve has had much to do with this reorganisation of plans in London University as a teaching centre, and his work on Geography in school will be found full of useful suggestions, marked by much common sense; and by a reasoned series of introductory chapters his proposals are marked off from many other suggested methods. The duration of a school curriculum, and its scope, as well as the organisation of a specimen year's work, are also attended to. Less account has been taken of the number of hours per week to be devoted to the subject. It is under this head that there is most need of a clear policy. The German and the French allowance is one hour per week, and excellent work is done with this one hour. Too often the excessive detail of geography teaching in England makes it imperative to devote five or six hours each week to the subject. The result is that it becomes a really technological subject, comparable to no other in a course of general education. Excessive use of

geology, excessive cultivation of mapping technique, are the cause of this. Secondary education is not meant to equip for their special work either pilots, or ordinance survey staffs, or mining experts. Professor Fairgrieve is not sufficiently severe on these excesses of educational and technical zealots, who advocate its use as a core or dominant subject; but he is clear enough (p. 12) in his comment on the *Geographical Journal*, where these zealots expatiate, as afflicted with "a gusto for disconnected detail." His own line in this serviceable volume makes Geography the vestibule to "thinking sanely about political and social problems." He thus decides against the ambitious geologists, and he is quite correct in this view of "Geography in School." T. C.

THE IRISH STUDENT'S GEOGRAPHY. Part I. *The Structural Geography of Ireland.* 1923. Pp. 98. 2*s.* net. Part II. *Great Britain; European Countries; World Geography.* 1925. Pp. 216. 3*s.* 6*d.* net. By Elenor Butler, M.A. Dublin and Cork: The Educational Company of Ireland.

BOTH these very lucid and well-produced texts exemplify Miss Butler's special gifts. There is no waste of words, no excessive condensation; the matter presented is subjected to rigorous selection. The two parts differ considerably in their own structural form. The second and later volume is largely human in its outlook: that on Ireland, under the avowed influence of the late Professor Grenville A. J. Cole, F.R.S., is exclusively geological, and scarcely refers to modern activities of any kind in Ireland. It is therefore not exactly suited to the average secondary or primary class, even on the new programmes. Rather it is an excellent basis for a teacher's own use; its doctrines admit of transfer into use through an average modern school text-book. So used, it will, like Part II, be found very helpful in our schools. T. C.

Fiction

BREAK O' DAY. By Con. O'Leary. London: Cassell. 1926. 7s. 6d. net.

TOWARDS the close of this novel, Mr. O'Leary dissociates himself —and with justice—from "certain Irish writers of the smart school . . . . " with their cloacal (he uses a stronger adjective of his own coining) jests. But though to his credit both as an artist and as a man, he has risen above the positive dirt of this school, he has not shaken off entirely the sordidness of their mood. He has, in fact, recently been acclaimed by so competent

a critic as Mr. T. P. O'Connor as a new recruit to the great army of the disillustioned Irish. Mr. O'Leary weaves his story around the figure of one Curley Bogue, nicknamed "The Cabogue," deserter from the Munsters and the R. I. C., traitor to Sinn Fein, to his sweetheart, and to anyone else whom he could betray, liar, boaster, drunkard and general scoundrel. The background is to match.

The story opens in Parnell Place, a Cork slum, of which "one side never woke up at all. It was mainly a comatose array of tumbledown stores . . . . where caretakers in a dropsy of laziness lounged on sacks or barrels, on guard over nothing worth stealing." Then there is a glimpse of the publichouse at Gleenaun, owned by Curley's mother, The Red Widow, where Maurice Hartigan, Chairman of the Rural District Council, welcomes home the Cabogue in a speech that echoes to the life the older generation of Abbey plays: "Woman of the house . . . . the plisant and auspicious duty falls to my unworthy lot as a public riprisintative to offer you our united, gladsome and harmonious filicitations," and so on for an impossible page and a half. And when the Cabogue has been finally hoisted on a gun-carriage in the square of Killyferreter and riddled at the instigation of the brothers of his betrayed sweetheart, this epic of Ireland's resurgence ends in the bar of the Victoria Hotel with the prayer of "a bankrupt squireen named Hayes," pitched in an alcoholic key reminiscent of Captain Jack Boyle :—

> Pollitish ! Pollitish ! Damn pollitish. Nothing ever bate a fine day and quietness ! Give us quietness again, O Lord, in Killyferreter ! Give us quietness, O Men ! Give us—give us a drink !

Now what is to be said about all this disillusioned stuff—much of it, I grant, of high literary merit—that our Irish writers are giving us. Passing over the fact that there is a large class of English readers to whom it must be positive balm to learn from the lips of Irishmen themselves that they were right after all, and that the Irish who beat their Black and Tans to a stalemate really are a race of liars, drunkards and murderers, and passing over the corollary that, in seeking the psychological origin of this self-condemnatory mood, the temptation to "give the public (and the publisher) what they want" must be reckoned with, let it be said at once that the mood itself is opposed to artistry, for it is a distorted mood. Our Irish writers have seemingly just found out the amazing fact that Irishmen are a mixture of good and bad, and in a panic lest anyone should think that they did not know it before, are shouting the badness of their countrymen all over the place and leaving the goodness to look after itself.

It must be said for Mr. O'Leary that he is not as bad as some others. He does not vilify the real fighting men of the Black and Tan Days and the Civil War. The slight sketches he does give—the boy-volunteer dying in the hayshed near Athlone for instance —the murky lamplight—the rifles and haversacks stacked in a corner—are near enough to life with their mixture of heroism and bravado, terror and farce. But the Cabogue and his boon companions are simply miles away from life. There were scoundrels at large all through the troubled times as bad as and worse than they, but, at least in waking hours, surely none so fantastic. An English reviewer has hailed *Break o' Day* as the first picaresque novel of modern Ireland, but I am afraid that to the reader who knows Ireland the author's achievement will appear to be not picaresque but burlesque of a not very deft type. What else are we to say of the Cabogue, who is knocked down and stamped on by a termagant of a woman and yet terrorises the countryside; of Shaun Bawn Fireaway, who swears fealty to his "layder, in all things he may consider necessary that are not sinful, for the purification of Gleenaun, the glory of God, and the honour of Ireland"; and of the tinker Kilgallon, who in the middle of an armed raid enquires whether the people up at the bank need any cans mended?

There are a few passages in the book that make me hope that Mr. O'Leary will one day give us a book about the real Ireland, the Ireland which is neither very bad nor very good, but very human—and withal very great and worth dying for. One of these is the returning exile's first glimpse of Ireland, a piece of fine writing in the truest sense of the word:—

> And now as the ship creeps nearer to the coast, and the morning gulls wheel and fly about the masthead, storm-thrown clouds sweep up again from the mountain summits, and the grey sides of the gentler hills become to nearer view the most tender, delicate green, ribbed and crossed by brown furrows. You notice roads and boreens winding up the hills and stepping aside past white cottages where morning lamps are lit in homes of love . . . . And there it is—Ireland in its morning loneliness, looking the most beautiful and most cherishable of all lands . . . . That unassertive soil, with the very mark of poverty on its stunted grass, is yet part of the very core of your being. And with emotion in your heart and a certain pride of ownership, you walk down the gangway to home.

F. McG.

LE GRAND SILENCE BLANC—LA BETE ERRANTE—L'EPOPEE BLANCHE. Par Louis Frédéric Rouquette. Paris: Ferenczi. 1924-1926. 9 francs each.

THE *Illustration* of May 29, 1926, gave a portrait and notice of Louis-Frédéric Rouquette on the occasion of his untimely death at the age of forty-two. He was then attached to the *Ministère*

des Affaires étrangères, and just a year before had been sent by the French government to take the Cross of the Legion of Honour to the far west of Canada, to the great Oblate missionary bishop, Mgr. Grouard. The celebration, this year, of the centenary of the foundation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who have been expelled from France while they are thus honoured abroad, adds special interest to this fact.

Rouquette was a native of Montpellier, and as he conveys to us in a delightful whimsical self-presentation, received an excellent education which was intended to make of him a sedate and *honnête* bourgeois. But " the narrow circle of the little town was too restricted. Paris, that was the stage." And so, in Paris, he wrote poems, too literary, and popular songs at fifteen francs per song, and plays, and theses—for others; and he was a secretary, and a house-painter; and then he travelled in Europe and Africa, and all over the New World from Tierra del Fuego to Point Barrow, turn by turn sailor, factory-worker, trapper, and gold-miner. All the while he was accumulating a rare store of experiences, which he records with verve and vividness. Nothing human was alien to him. He vibrated to every impression, while his critical spirit led to much musing, and questioning of the meaning of life. He had humour and pathos, and he rouses with equal facility a sense of distress, a shudder of horror, a tremor of mystery, or a smile.

But what a progression there is in the three books under review! The first two relate, in vivid episodes strung on the personality of " Freddy " the narrator and of Gregory Land the postman, the hard, wild, adventurous life of the trappers and miners in the extreme west and north-west of the American Continent: their strange histories, monotonous toil and rare success; their attacks of unbearable depression in the loneliness of the snow wastes, mitigated by the rough good fellowship of town or camp with cinemas, bars and dancing-girls; their love for the all but human dogs that draw their sleighs—Tempest has his place beside and even before Gregory Land—and with it all, the fascination of the wilds. A reckless and yet generous-hearted lot they appear, with a fierce untamed sense of justice: an episode such as the summary execution of James W. Blackfoot is unforgettable. But so are many other scenes, of strange lonely lives and deaths, of disillusioned love, of the long-drawn horror endured by those who have lost their way. The prevailing note is sad, but there are flashes of contrast: the French miner who has learnt Greek to pass the time and religiously puts on a top-hat and frock-coat

every Sunday; or the questions of the Indian "Billikins" who finds the labours of white men so incomprehensible; or those of the Esquimau Kotak.

These books end on a note of inexorable sadness. The postman gives his experience one night by the hut fire to a newcomer:—

> Let time do its work; wait for all the regret, the desires, the sum of things that make up what we call life! and some evening when you are my age, you can compare. Night, the polar night, blue and cold; the great white silence, heavier than the pall of snow. Alone, alone, without hope, without a friend . . . . To have done with loving, believing, suffering, ... to live as in a dream, and not to knock one's heart against men's hardness. To be weary of carrying one's burden, but to pull oneself together, throw out one's chest, bluff to the gallery, and pass on, whistling, hands in pockets, with a light step, so that no one may read in one's eyes that one carries within the glorious torment of living.

Rouquette—he tells us so himself—reached out eventually to something more spiritual and more consoling. The heroes of his fine *Epopée blanche*, the missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, were often quite as much alone, and led still harder lives, deprived even of the few material alleviations of the miners' lot. But then they had hope, and a Friend.

> In *le Grand Silence Blanc* and *la Bête Errante* I showed the effort of men towards the conquest of material ends . . . . In this book I want to relate the glorious epic of those who, having given up all the goods of this world, sacrifice their life for the glory of God and to win souls.

So runs the preface. The author's method is the same as before, and it is difficult to choose amongst his varied chapters. When the Oblate missionaries, eighty-four years after an earlier Jesuit attempt and twenty-seven years after the ground had been broken anew by Mgr. Provencher in 1818, undertook to evangelise the North and West of Canada, it consisted of trackless snow wastes, with here and there a fort; wandering Indian tribes at war with nature and with one another, living in degrading superstition even though they had strange glimpses of a religious revelation, given over to primitive instincts, and the victims of disease and famine. The Esquimaux were, and are, as it appears, wilder than the Indians; the murders of missionaries recorded in the book are due to them. The Oblates went out ready to bring the knowledge of Christ even to one soul—we read of five years' labour leading to twelve baptisms; of a ten days' journey undertaken to baptise one dying Indian woman; of a missionary *alone* for two years among the Esquimaux on the shores of the northern sea. They built rude chapels, grouped huts round them, made schools, brought nuns to look after the children, showed

the resources of the virgin soil, brought French colonists from Quebec or back from the United States, evangelised the Indians, the Esquimaux, even the miners. Their labours and influence were appreciated and utilised by the government and the great railway company. "Catholics revere them, Protestants admire them." Alas! in some places they found themselves forestalled by "civilisation." Mgr. Taché, bishop *in partibus* at twenty-seven, about 1850, had been marching for seventeen days from tribe to tribe, camp to camp, hut to hut: he found the Indians poisoned and decimated by *fire-water*. Mgr. Grandin had to fight down the idea that he was like other white men.

We are given some idyllic pictures, such as the Christmas Mass and the *veillée* in a French family, which remind us of *Maria Chapdelaine*;—the choice of subject, the love of wandering, and the early deaths naturally force a comparison between Louis Frédéric Rouquette and Louis Hémon, though two talents could hardly be more dissimilar. And there are pages and pages of thrilling or moving description that one would love to quote. But we must be content with reproducing the governmental statements made last year about Mgr. Grouard, himself the author of a remarkable book, *Soixante ans d'apostolat*:—

He went to Canada in 1860, and has resided there ever since; he has made the name of France known and loved in Alberta and to the farthest North; thanks to him innumerable geographical names are French; a zealous priest, an indefatigable missionary; navigator, geographer, explorer, town builder, architect, painter, composer, writer, agriculturist, he still is, at the age of eighty-five, the most intrepid pioneer of the great North.

He has provided shelter for orphans in French institutions which he founded; he saved the life of Mgr. Clut on a memorable occasion; he has protected, at the risk of his life, Indian women exposed to the brutality of their husbands, cared for the sick and comforted the agonising, and published books on religion in eight native laguages.

And he is only an outstanding member of a wonderful band of missionaries, men and women. We close the book with something of the feeling with which the author said farewell to them on leaving Canada: "One felt so well, morally, in the company of those men." The book deserves to be widely read and spread.

M.R.

History

THE ABBEY OF ST. GALL AS A CENTRE OF LITERATURE AND ART. By J. M. Clark, M.A., Ph.D. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1926. 18s. net.

On the "last lap" of that long trail which led St. Columbanus from his Irish school in Bangor to his Italian grave in Bobbio,

one of his oldest comrades was forced, by sickness, to drop out of the march. Ceallach—or to call him by that Latin form of his name, destined to become famous, Gallus—was not only a favourite pupil and old friend of Columban's, but he was probably a relative, and his defection, whether voluntary or not, from the thinned ranks of the Master's little company seems to have wounded his leader very much. The old writers of the *Vitae Sancti Galli* speak of a strange punishment laid by Columban on their hero: an interdict preventing him from saying Mass as long as the Master lived.

These old writers, Wettin and Walafrid Strabo—monks of Reichenau in the ninth century, both of them—were poets, as well as scholars; and there are few more exquisite pages in hagiography than those to which they have consigned the adventures of St. Gall after the departure of St. Columban—driven from Alemannia by the hostility of Duke Cunzo and forced to seek a new sphere of labour under the protection of the Milanese Court (613). The very poetry of Alpine solitudes breathes through that episode in which they narrate the expedition undertaken by St. Gall—by mountain, and lake, and cataract—in company with Hiltibold, a young deacon of similar tastes to his own—"a listener in woods, a gazer on stars"—in search of a suitable site for his hermitage. On the spot by the twain that day chosen, near the source of the Steinach, where Gallus erected his little cross of twigs (staking out the claim of the Crucified!) there was, in later days, to arise one of the most famous Abbeys in the world—the great Abbey of St. Gall, "destined to exist for more than a thousand years and to become, for a time, one of the most renowned centres of scholarship in Europe."

It is the story of this great Abbey, during the ten centuries of its existence, and of "its contribution to European civilisation," paid through its services to Literature, Music, and Art, which Dr. Clark has chosen as the theme of his very fine and valuable book. No praise can be too high for the competence, diligence, care, and thoroughness with which he has accomplished his task; and if we do not know everything we want to know about the Abbey of St. Gall after our perusal of his work, it is not Dr. Clark's fault, for he will have indicated where we are to find it. It seems safe to say that no source of information about his subject has been left, by him, untapped; and he has probably managed to read and extract the pith from every published monograph and article bearing on his theme. To have written the book at all—for it is one of those books that have long called out for somebody

to come and write them—deserves our gratitude; to have done it so conscientiously and well doubles the claim on it. Personally—if a grumble in the act of receiving such a gift be not too ungracious—I must confess to a regret that the book should have been left to a Lecturer in a Scottish university to write and to a Professor in an English university to suggest. What are the students and professors in our own Irish universities doing to have let such a fine "thesis" go begging?

Whatever our questions about Irish scholarship in the present, we have all taken it for granted in the past, and silenced the sceptics by pointing to the school of St. Gall, whose most illustrious teachers were recruited from our Moengals, and Faillans, and Tuathals, and whose library was enriched by *libri Scottice scripti*, gifts of Irish pilgrim guests and products of Irish pilgrim scribes. Alas! even our complacency in this belief is not to be left undisturbed by Dr. Clark: "After studying all the original documents with the minutest care, testing every statement, sifting all the available evidence, I have come to the conclusion that after 760 Irish influence no longer predominated at St. Gall. The Celtic element has often been exaggerated; we must reduce it to its true proportions." After which ingenuous "begging of the question," he proceeds to reduce it very drastically indeed—accepting M. Berger's opinion that St. Gall stood for nothing, so to speak, but a handful of saintly bones in a shrine; that the real founder of this Swabian monastery was the Swabian Othmar, that the wandering Irish monks who flit across its story, were accepted by their Swabian hosts as picturesque freaks and their funny old manuscripts (which nobody could use!) as interesting curiosities. Nay, even Tuotilo, our glory, he has wrenched from us—or tried to. This splendid super-man—poet, musician, composer of the "Angelical" Mass (*vide* Dr. Grattan Flood), scholar, teacher, artist, pugilist!—was no exiled Irish Tuathal, but a pure bred German Tuoto! Is Dr. Clark right? A notable contribution to scholarship will be made by one who will go over the ground equipped with two instruments which Dr. Clark does not seem to have carried in his toolbag: a knowledge of Old Irish and a knowledge of Irish Music—especially of those Irish musical forms which were the accompaniments of the Irish classical metres. Here is a "thesis" waiting for our scholars.

HELENA CONCANNON.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By Norman H. Baynes, Home University Library. London: Williams and Norgate. 1926. 2s. 6d. net.

TREBIZOND. The Last Greek Empire. By William Miller. London: S. P. C. K. 1926. 6s. net.

MR. BAYNES' little book is sure to take a high place in the excellent series to which it belongs. In view of the number of recent works which have dealt with his subject either in whole or part, it might seem difficult to arouse any fresh interest, especially in such small space. Mr. Baynes has undoubtedly succeeded in doing so. He owes his success chiefly to the fact that he has left the oft-repeated narrative of the Empire which took so long to die to writers with more room at their disposal, and has given us a series of chapters on Byzantine government, social life, law, literature, art, and education, in which few of the more important problems are untouched. His bibliography is particularly good, and should prove most useful to those whose interest has been aroused by his very attractive style.

His own chief enjoyment was clearly derived from writing his chapter on Social Life, a subject on which he promises a monograph. In this chapter, by supplying him with modern newspaper headlines, he gives an attraction to the much-maligned Malalas which no one would expect from the strictures passed on that unscientific historian by modern critics. His chapter on Law briefly summarises the changes wrought in Roman conceptions by Christianity—which, however, did not get rid of divorce—and Greek popular usage, and finds space for the conclusions of recent research on these puzzling compilations, the *Farmer's Law*, the *Sailor's Law*, and the *Soldier's Law*. That on Land-holding and Taxation should be of value to those interested in the question of communal ownership. On art he is less original, and confesses his humility, but gives a good introduction to the vexed question—"Orient oder Rom?" Finally his epilogue justly emphasises the continuity of Constantinople with Rome and Hellenistic Greece.

These are only a few of the topics with which he deals; others are discussed equally well, and there is little to criticise. One slight matter may be of interest to readers of STUDIES. Mr. Baynes agrees with Gibbon about Pope Celestine's ignorance of Greek, which he calls an "astounding fact." Mr. Hilaire Belloc has discussed the question in this journal, and shown pretty clearly that Gibbon's statement is an inference from his own prejudice. We have no direct evidence, but it should by no means be taken

as proven that fifth-century Rome was completely Greekless. The Lombard Age was the real period of final division between East and West.

Mr. Miller, as historian of the Latins in the Levant, is well qualified to deal with an Empire founded by an adventurous scion of the Comnenian house, in Trebizond, after the Latin sack of Constantinople and seizure of the Roman Empire in 1204. His book fills a gap, as the only monograph on this subject—not written in Greek—prior to his was that of the famous mis-Hellene Fallmerayer, published in 1827. Mr. Miller does full justice to his subject and supplies an exhaustive bibliography. It can hardly be said, however, that the story of Trebizond, for all the reputation which the Empire enjoyed in the West before and after its fall, is a very thrilling one. Its Emperors were true Comneni, without the soldierly and statesmanlike qualities of the earlier rulers from that house. They murdered and mutilated each other most generously, and their history is largely one of humiliations at the hands of Venetians and Genoese and of intermarriages with Turcomans and other heathens for reasons of policy. The Empire's only distinguished son was Cardinal Bessarion, whose career falls outside Mr. Miller's scope; but it produced many rascals, of whom perhaps the most complete was that George Amoiroutzes, a correspondent of the Cardinal's, who betrayed it to the Turks in 1461, and afterwards, though a very pious hymn-writer, became a Moslem and proceeded to acquire a harem. As a chronicle of the adventures of a series of such rascals, Mr. Miller's book has considerable human interest. Now and again—though there is no map and no illustration—we obtain indications that Trebizond was a great artistic centre, and alas! that many of its monuments have only recently disappeared before the fury of barbarians whom international intrigues have allowed to root out the last vestiges of Hellenism in Asia Minor.

M. T.

Miscellaneous

CORK. A Civic Survey. Prepared by the Cork Town Planning Association. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1926. 10s.

A CIVIC survey is really a city's examination of conscience. It reveals past errors and mistakes, and indicates the good resolutions which are desirable. These good resolutions are afterwards embodied in a Town Plan, which can and may be modified, but which indicates the general and special lines on which the City

should develop. It is greatly to the credit of Cork that its leading citizens have undertaken and carried through such an examination, the results of which are to be found in the volume under review. Recent developments, such as the burning of the principal shopping centre, free library, and City Hall in 1920, the establishment of the Ford Factory in 1917, and the agitation for the establishment of the Cattle Market in the heart of the City, indicate how necessary such an examination had become.

Cork is unique amongst Irish towns in the diversity of its functions. It is at one and the same time the capital of a province and of the largest county in the country, a seaport with both a river and an ocean port, each demanding different treatment, a distributing centre, a manufacturing city, a residential area, and a university town. Like most old cities each of these aspects has made its impression, but without design or plan. We have dwelling houses where we should have factories, no definite industrial quarter, and no civic centre. Moreover the axis of the city has completely changed. The old walled town on its island site ran north and south, and its situation was obviously governed by military reasons. The present North and South Main streets were its backbone. As the modern city emerged it naturally developed towards the main channels of the river, whence its commerce flowed, and the lines of its canals became eventually the new main streets, Patrick Street and the South Mall, running east and west. This natural evolution is proceeding to this day, as witness the riverside site of the Ford Factory and the Harbour Commissioners project for creating a new industrial and warehouse quarter on land being reclaimed by dredged material from Tivoli towards the sea.

All these considerations are mentioned in the Civic Survey. Physical features, historical development, regional considerations, industrial conditions, health and housing, communication and administration are all adequately discussed and ample material is provided for the preparation of a Town Plan. The Survey is of course much wider than even this interesting volume discloses, and the entire material will be handed over to the City Commissioner for municipal use. Taken in conjunction with the valuable survey and report on Cork Harbour prepared some years ago by Mr. Nicholson, the Port Engineer of Seattle, U.S.A., it constitutes a veritable mine of information for whatever authority may have to consider the future development of the Cork district.

Cork is bound to develop towards the sea. Were it an American city it would probably have already been transplanted

to Cove. The tendency of all modern communities is to move towards deep water. The large size of modern steamers and the necessity for a quick "turn around" has made this inevitable. Cork has of course done much to remedy the defect of its present position, for during the last hundred years its citizens have constructed, entirely at their own expense, one of the finest river ports in Ireland, where vessels up to 450 feet long and 27 feet fresh water draught can discharge their cargoes at deep water quays with impunity. The growth of Cork towards the sea has been both residential as at Blackrock, Douglas and Monkstown; industrial at Passage West, Rushbrooke and Haulbowline (now sadly silent); and recreational at Crosshaven and neighbourhood. This latter place badly needs development in the laying out of its beautiful water front and in its communications with the sea coast and the City.

Whilst the industries of the City are widely scattered and diverse in nature, its warehousing accommodation is fortunately concentrated at the head of the island portion of the City and along the adjoining quays. The Ford Factory is, as the Survey points out, Cork's principal industry, and, whilst it may not have fulfilled all the hopes it originally inspired, it has furnished, not only for Cork but the entire Free State, a striking example of what hard work and intelligent enterprise can accomplish. The Ford Company has only used a relatively small part of the lands in their possession, and there can be little doubt that but for the tariff on motor cars and parts between the Free State and England, the development of this factory would have been much greater than it is at present. The other principal industries are the Agricultural and Provision Trade, with its large export of Live Stock; the brewing industry, which has fallen away seriously in recent years; the Boot and Shoe factories, which have developed under the tariff stimulus; and the woollen industry, which has its centres outside the City in Blarney and Douglas.

The Survey reveals, what was indeed already apparent to all serious students of Cork civic conditions, that the most serious immediate problem confronting the City is that of housing. One-ninth of the total population live in tenements averaging per house 12·06 persons, and there is a population of 18,645 persons living under unsatisfactory conditions. To rectify this shocking and rotten condition of affairs it will be necessary to build approximately 4,500 new houses and re-condition many tenements. Looked at in terms of population it would mean dispossessing and re-housing, upon probably new sites, 16,000 people or one-

fifth of the population. This will naturally take years to accomplish. In Liverpool it took thirty years to demolish and re-build a similar number of houses. But, long or short, it is Cork's greatest need, and should be tackled as quickly and effectively as conditions financial and administrative permit. It is interesting to note, as one might expect, that the closely packed badly housed districts in the western centre of the City are also the most unhealthy. Cork is also sadly defective in open spaces. Whilst Dublin has 5·7 per 1,000 persons, Cork has only ·54.

It was in many ways an excellent thing that the re-building of the City Hall on its old site has been delayed; for it is now more than ever apparent that the ideal position for a Cork Civic Centre is the Grand Parade, which is central, dignified and spacious. Here the new Free Library will shortly be built, and here also the new City Hall should eventually be erected. The old site, whilst totally unsuitable for a Cattle Market as recently suggested, may properly and reasonably be devoted to commercial purposes of a less noisy and objectionable nature.

It only remains to add that the book is admirably produced and printed in Cork by Messrs Guy and Co., although published by the Liverpool University Press, who are specialists in such matters. It has eighteen excellent plans, some of which suffer in clearness from their inevitable reduction, but all of which are of great interest and importance. This publication proves that the citizens of Cork are by no means defective in civic sense, and it reflects great credit on the Cork Town Planning Association, and more particularly on its chairman and secretary, Mr. Sharman Crawford and Mr. D. J. Coakley, to whose untiring zeal and assistance their own modesty has prevented any reference being made. To Professor Abercrombie and Mr. Sydney Kelly, their special advisers, much credit is also due for encouragement and experienced advice.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

GEORGES GOYAU. L'Homme et l'Oeuvre. Par Victor Bucaille. Paris: Editions Spes. 1926. 2 fr. 50.

THIS little biography of the eminent Catholic Academician is a model of what such lives of men still living should be—short, not too fulsomely laudatory, and enhanced with an excellent portrait and a very complete bibliography. M. Goyau is one of the most refined and sympathetic of propaganda writers, and the serious historical research that underlies his more important work should preserve it from a merely ephemeral popularity. V. M. C.

Politics

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION. By R. H. Murray, M.A., Litt.D. London: Ernest Benn. 1926. 15s. net.

THIS is a disappointing book. It professes to be "a reasoned study" of political theories in the sixteenth century. It consists, in fact, of religious polemics directed against the Papacy and the Jesuits. These institutions have been sufficiently assailed. Their most insatiable enemies can find ample pabulum outside a "Library of European Political Thought." Moreover Dr. Murray has no novel items to add to the indictment. On the other hand a satisfactory book, in English, on political thought in the sixteenth century is badly needed, and it is to be regretted that this need has not been filled. The writer of such a book would require special qualifications which Dr. Murray does not possess.

Sufficient detachment to guarantee historical accuracy should certainly be possible now. Time has softened the asperity of controversy, if not completely, yet to such a degree that we can all bear to be told what political theories Luther and Calvin did genuinely hold, and whether Suarez or Mariana were in favour of tyrannicide or democracy. Accuracy is a vital need, and the student of Dr. Murray's book receives more incidental shocks than his confidence can be expected to survive. Many of these mistakes are quite gratuitous, for it is a peculiarity of Dr. Murray's style that he ranges over the whole field of erudition and introduces us in a single paragraph to such disparate personalities as Voltaire, St. Augustine, Luther, Bishop Lightfoot, George Eliot and John Austin (p. 41). This method of writing, at first amusing, becomes ludicrous and in the end irritating. The reader's attention is carried off from such subjects as Luther's political theories to irrelevant matters concerning Hegel and Cromwell, Bismarck and what is referred to as the "*Theologica Germanica.*"

The book is full of historical inaccuracies. These, however, may be regarded as incidental. And although they render the reader less confiding, they are not perhaps a quite fatal disqualification. A more serious trouble remains. The political controversies of the sixteenth century have their roots in medieval theories. Dr. Figgis has pointed out that the theory of the divine right of kings, to take a single instance, had its beginnings in the medieval controversy which raged around the competing claims of the Empire and the Papacy. The arguments of the Protestant

controversialists are linked up with the theories of Marsiglio and Occam. On the other hand the theories of Bellarmine and Suarez are in the main stream of medieval tradition, and Suarez expressly claims to hold views identical with those of St. Thomas Aquinas. The central weakness of Dr. Murray's book lies here. He has no competent knowledge of medieval theories; and what is worse, although he devotes a chapter to the "Leaguers and Jesuits," it is abundantly clear that he has no direct acquaintance with writers like Suarez, Bellarmine and Vasquez. It is amazing to hear, in his opening chapter, "that until after the Renaissance there was no conscious desire for moral or political speculation." After this one is not surprised to find, on pages 50 and 75, that Dr. Murray supposes the "De Regimine Principum" to be the work of St. Thomas Aquinas. On page 62 we meet the assertion that "the mediaevalist had taught that what was natural was wrong." But the final stage of unintelligibility, contradiction, and positive ignorance is reached on pp. 227-228, when Dr. Murray comes to deal with the scholastic conception (for the conception is common to all scholastic writers and in no way peculiar to the Jesuits) of the natural law. We are told (p. 227) of the Jesuits :—

> With the Dominicans they violently affirm the purely natural foundation of the State and the civil power. They take up this conception simply to abase the State and to exalt the Church . . . . . From Gregory VII onwards the Church considers the State as the work of the devil and of sin . . . . . Their theorists agree on the whole that the civil commonalty rests on natural right; that in virtue of natural right, sovereignty belongs to the commonalty . . . . Suarez sums up the general position: "A Deo tanquam naturalis juris auctore. Deus, per legem naturalem. Jure naturali, ergo a Deo." All power comes from God means that God is the Author of nature, whence all power comes.

So in the course of a single paragraph, we are informed that the Jesuits held that the state has its origin at one and the same time in the devil and in God! And note the quotation from Suarez. It is given without any reference. As it stands, it will not be found anywhere in Suarez. On page 232 there is a second quotation from Suarez, again without reference of any kind. Owing to a mistake in a vital word this quotation has no meaning.

But let us hear Dr. Murray on the subject of the natural law and the *jus gentium*, surely not a very esoteric matter :—

> To the Jesuits there is eternal law in accordance with the Divine nature, and all other law ultimately comes from it. There is natural law implanted in the instincts of man. A fifteenth-century writer, Gabriel Biel, took occasion to point out that God is the author of natural law only in the sense that He is the author of reason. Vasquez, curiously enough, makes the natural law independent of God. His position depends on the fact that he regards natural law as the embodiment of

reason, not of caprice, taking up the attitude of the average man to the reign of law in science till Henri Poincaré upset it. The *jus gentium* is not quite the same as the law of nature. There are natural liberty and equality in the former, and both are absent in the latter (p. 228).

This paragraph seems to combine all the vices of Dr. Murray's manner of writing. Where does he get this curious compound of pretentious ignorance ? One would need to analyse it sentence by sentence to realise all its enormity. " The natural law implanted in the *instincts* of man " ; the absurd reference to Gabriel Biel for a commonplace theory ; " Vasquez, *curiously enough*," holding a theory universally held by Catholic writers. And what in the world is the meaning of the statement that " there are natural liberty and equality in the former (the *jus gentium*) and both are absent in the latter " (the law of nature) ?

It would be idle to continue. This chapter admittedly shows the writer at his worst. On page 233 he confuses Suarez with Mariana. On page 234 he suggests that Mariana allows a prince to lie, although the very words of Mariana himself, which he quotes, expressly declare the opposite. On page 14 we are informed that Aristotle divorced ethics from politics. Aristotle himself tells us in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that ethics is a part of politics. On page 299 : " In following natural law, Suarez practically takes from men their rights, leaving them simply their duties "—a statement which seems to have no intelligible meaning.

Perhaps a key to this bewildering book is to be found on page 75 : " Is it not the prerogative of genius to be fertile in contradiction, to nourish its development on inconsistencies ? "

D. O'K.

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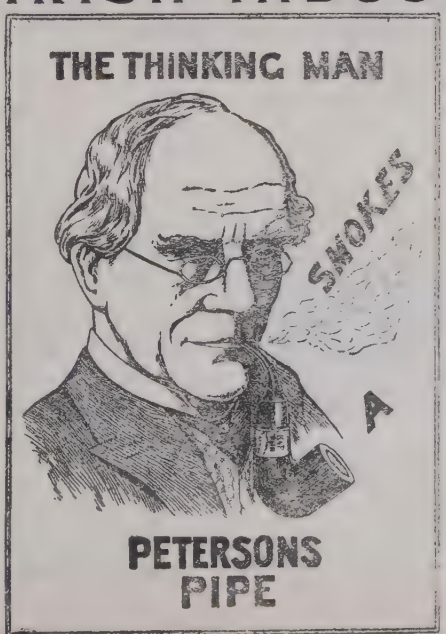

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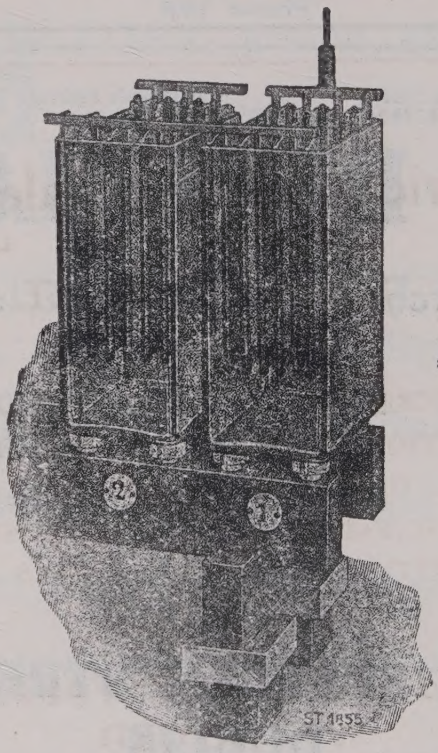

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